Democracy and the Overman

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DEMOCRACY AND THE OVERMAN

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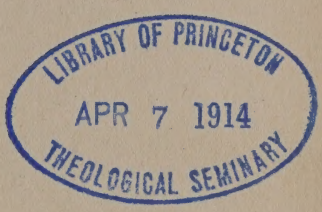

BY

CHARLES ZUEBLIN

Author of "The Religion of a Democrat"

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
THOSE GOOD DEMOCRATS AND BELOVED FRIENDS
JESSIE BROSS AND HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD

OVERWORD

The American prototype of the Overman of Nietzsche is a winning personality in the sense of 'heads I win, tails you lose.' He is an aggressive, self-satisfied megalomaniac, the offspring of business and finance, but he is the best we have. He only needs the discipline of democracy. He is the boss of *hoi Polloi;* he must be made the servant of *Demos.*

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THE OVERSPECIALIZED BUSINESS MAN

CHAPTER I

THE OVERSPECIALIZED BUSINESS MAN

THE sway of the business man is well nigh complete. He is the master of industry, he controls the means of subsistence and communication, he subsidizes education and art in his own whimsical fashion, he owns the Senate's boss; through the Speaker he manages the House, he harries the President and the Supreme Court, he shapes the moral code.

It is accepted as logical and appropriate that the business man should control industry, but people forget how recent is his warrant for this. A scant century and a half mark his entire history. The industrialist, expert in manufacture, is dependent on the financier and the man who can market the goods. The mastery of industry by business is not wholly undesir-

able, but neither is it unavoidable. Whether to the advantage or disadvantage of the people, the business man's control of the means of subsistence and communication is less logical. The raw materials of living ought surely to be indirectly in the control of the public, and in the more civilized countries the means of communication are regarded as public rather than private concern. In this country the master of transportation has been the promoter rather than the engineer. Few street railways were built to carry people, and this seemingly appropriate function has fallen heavily upon the expert after one or more promoters have loaded up the system with embarassing financial obligations. In the interest of rapid economic development it may be temporarily desirable to tolerate the rule of the business man over industry and transportation, but why should he direct politics? He will himself hasten to say that he stands aside from affairs of state desiring only to be let alone, and exhibiting contempt for those

who rely on political support. In fact, however, he is the chief beneficiary of paternalism; although he rarely holds office, he subsidizes the boss and the office-holders, but not from philanthropy.

With the growing recognition that politics is public business, we can understand the business man's interference, even if we cannot condone it, but there never has been and never will be any reason why he should direct art, education, and religion. The man of means is conspicuously devoid of artistic knowledge, judged by his home and his mischievous patronage of art. He is rarely cultured and frequently uneducated, and he is either ignorant of, or indifferent to, theology. Yet his benefactions determine the quality of our art, his position on boards of trustees guides, often restricts, education, and only the more courageous preachers and priests venture to expound ethical doctrines which are unpalatable to the business world.

Is he not, in truth, the overman?

The decalogue has been supplemented, if not supplanted, by the overman's trilogy: (1) "Business is business." (2) "Stand pat." (3) "I want what I want when I want it." "Business is business" is the masculine equivalent for the feminine "because." "Stand pat" is the defiant watchword of the politician subservient to business. "I want what I want when I want it" is the cry of the spoiled child, overspecialization being akin to immaturity. We need a prophet like Carlyle to proclaim the iniquity and futility of the philosophy, "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," and to announce the discovery of a "nobler hell than that of not making money."

If the business man is to be the mentor of public morals, he must learn to follow the teachings of Isaiah, Jesus, Ruskin, and other social prophets that there can be no legitimate mastery without service. The business man might see this if he were to take his nose from the grindstone. As it is, he not only sees sand, but he condemns the

onlooker, whose vision is clearer, because the latter is not practical—that is to say, is not engaged in the same blinding business processes. It is as though a man rushing headlong against the wall of an observatory should, by the concussion, see stars and claim superior accomplishment to the astronomer, who is merely looking at the real heavens with the aid of a scientific instrument, and hence not sufficiently practical or strenuous.

An analysis of the business man, as we observe him in the ablest representatives, may enable us to see how many of his powers are wasted by overspecialization to the detriment of public morals. He possesses more virility than courage; more brains than culture; more force than character; all successful business men possess virility, brains and force; but few exhibit the union of courage, culture and character.

There is something heroic about the virility of a man like that New York patriarch who could be seen trudging regularly to his office after he had passed the allotted span of

human life, to engage in an occupation by many considered questionable, the fruits of which he would not permit himself to enjoy. There was no courage, however, in leaving to an aged widow the fortune he had not allowed her to spend during the years of its accumulation. Her wise benefactions cannot absolve the cowardice of the miser.

Examples of virility abound, but unhappily instances of courage are rare. During the railway strike of 1894 a well known professor of economics in a symposium at the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago declared that the railways would have a better case against the sympathetic strike if they did not themselves maintain a blacklist. One of the pillars of the church, a prominent railway President, called the professor a liar, for this imputation. The trials which followed the strike produced the evidence that this particular railway kept a blacklist. This railway executive is a notable example of the virile business man. The undesirability of such information having currency at that time doubtless caused his out-

burst, but his cowardice was obvious. One of the Chicago packers resented the criticism of the leading Jewish rabbi that the packers were evading their water rents, so he left the synagogue and joined a Christian church. Courage would have cost little in this case, except the admission of the superiority of rabbinical to business ethics.

While Washington has secured a great union railway station and New York is witnessing the building of the greatest railway terminals in the world, Chicago, with no serious topographical difficulties, is dealing with the steam transportation problem in a petty, piecemeal fashion. The New York Central system built a fine new station in the wrong place, in entire disregard of other roads, the city's welfare, or even its own future convenience. The Chicago and Northwestern Railway is building a new station in a new place, making a desirable but utterly inadequate improvement, viewed in the perspective of fifty years. The Pennsylvania Railway spent millions on its Pittsburg terminals, including an

elaborate new station, which proved to be too small the day it was opened, although it owns and uses the ground on which an adequate station might have been built. These instances are typical.

The attitude toward physical improvements is similar to that toward investments. Virility is constantly being throttled by timidity. Great industrial enterprises go begging for funds, although protected by valuable plants, while the speculative "securities" find a ready sale. The preferred stock of a great mail-order house was frowned upon, although backed by a six million dollar modern factory, while railways, subject to legislative interference, were commended by financiers. It took ten years to get the capital to build the New York elevated railways, and, after they had proved to be a gold mine, it was equally hard to convince cowardly capital of the practicability of the subway.

In the face of this experience the report of the New York Chamber of Commerce on the

extension of subways is one of the most contemptible pieces of contemporary pusillanimity perpetrated by the overman. As reported in the Boston *Transcript:*

"In its briefest form, the verdict reached by the special committee of the Chamber of Commerce comes down to this: The city has no borrowing capacity within its present debt limit to enable it to raise money to build subways and the chamber has declared against the pending constitutional amendment exempting bonds issued for enterprises which have proved themselves self-sustaining—[*sic!*]—so the question of municipal construction of further subways need not be considered. In the matter of private construction, various obstacles, such as the present limitation of operating franchises to twenty-five years with a twenty-year renewal, the supervision of the Public Service Commission, the increased cost of construction and operation and what the committee terms the hostility of a certain part of the public, combine to make capital timid of entering the traction field. It is a question, according to the committee, what inducements are necessary. The committee suggests private construction and operation under a scheme of combined profit sharing and subsidy in which the city makes good deficits below certain guarantees of return on invested capital and takes the surplus over and above

an agreed income. As an alternative, the Chamber of Commerce committee suggests an increased fare on express trains. It would also create a commission of three engineers, one chosen by the companies, one by the city and the third by these two, to pass upon the reasonableness of all orders of the Public Service Commission before promulgation. With these safeguards the committee and the Chamber of Commerce believe that private capital might be induced to reënter the traction field. . . . 'It cannot safely be concluded that future subways will necessarily prove profitable.' . . . To begin with the last statement, the committee of the Chamber of Commerce seems to have overlooked, wilfully or otherwise, the fact that in the last year and a half the growth of earnings on the present subway has so far outstripped the elevated's earnings that for the September quarter of 1908 the subway's net was $1,182,605, after deducting interest, taxes, and amortization, as against a deficit of $209,312.47 for the elevated. . . . The record shows that in the first full year of operation—1905—116,209,313 passengers were carried. The following year the traffic rose to 149,778,370; for 1907 it was 182,559,990; and for 1908 it was 228,991,212. . . . Mr. McAdoo is willing to go ahead to the Grand Central, at least, under all the restrictions of the present law, on a twenty-five year franchise, with a twenty-year renewal, and asks no subsidy, neither that he may visé the orders of the Public Service

Commission before they become effective. Being in the business of selling transportation and not that of selling watered securities, he has no fear of regulation."

The only advance in the methods of taxation in Chicago in twenty years was made primarily by a woman, a little, single woman, with the backing of women, the elementary school teachers. It is universally recognized that Chicago's chief municipal limitation is lack of funds, due to its antiquated taxing system, but the business world has had nothing but vituperation for these women who compelled the taxation of corporations, illegally neglected by the public officials. It was cowardly, in the first instance, for the overman not to have effected the reform himself; in the second, not to have applauded its accomplishment. A lesson might have been learned from the Carlisle Indian football player, as yet unsophisticated, who, being tackled just before the goal posts, after having run half the length of the field, grasped the hand of the fullback underneath the mound of Harvard players, and said, "Good tackle!"

The overspecialized business man is not a good sport.

Secondly—The business man possesses brains, but usually not culture. In his ignorance, he often disdains culture, confusing it with learning. He does not know that his habit of quick thinking indicates his ability to do clear thinking outside of his daily routine, if he were not so sadly overspecialized. Even a self-made man may possess that culture which is described by Bosanquet as "the habit of a mind instinct with purpose, cognizant of a tendency and connection in human achievement, able and industrious in discerning the great from the trivial."

Perhaps the ablest business man Chicago has produced was its great merchant prince. Measured by the popular contemporary standard, his brains weighed a hundred million dollars in gold, the foundations of which came from legitimate business. After building up a retail, wholesale, and export trade which has no rival; after constructing the most monumental wholesale house in the country, with the

aid of America's first architect, Richardson; after developing a retail store unrivaled in New York or Philadelphia; after paying more taxes than any man in the United States, he still had a surplus, which was put into public service corporations, from which finally the bulk of his fortune was secured. Brains have seldom been better used in business, but when he came to die he revealed his tragic lack of culture. He had aided education by gifts to the university, and the establishment of a natural history museum, through which he exercises a permanent influence on the culture of others. Nevertheless the bulk of his fortune is entailed and so bound by the dead hand as inevitably to curse those who receive it.

Instances of brains without culture crowd upon us. Mr. Roosevelt said that at the anthracite coal conference, John Mitchell was the only gentleman in the room, the President, with the coal operators, having lost his temper. One of Chicago's most public spirited clubs "entertained" the School Board by banqueting them and inviting a distinguished uni-

versity president and some local talent to abuse them with personalities. No member of the club would have dreamed of treating guests in the same way in his own home, but culture, not conventionality, is needed to meet the amenities of public life.

The most spectacular and amusing evidence of the absence of culture in the business world is probably the National Civic Federation's discovery of Mr. Mallock. For more than a decade the Englishman's facile pen has been a joy to the academic world, which has regarded him as a cross between a philosophic Pickwick and an economic Don Quixote. That sober Americans should import him to annihilate Socialism would have been incredible if it were not known that the business world is "easy" for the adventurer if he understands the overman's colossal vanity. Churches, philanthropies and Cassie Chadwicks are subsidized by a recognition of this fact. The superior common sense of the people was shown in New York's reception of Dowie, who deluded some of the people, as Mr. Mallock has many of

the business men. The most trenchant criticisms of Mr. Mallock have come from opponents of Socialism, who see that he is doing damage to the cause he is subsidized to support. The Civic Federation would have accomplished its purpose better by employing a notorious anarchist to advocate socialism, which would have aroused the wrath of the Socialists, who are now laughing in their sleeves.

A more dangerous consequence of brains unrestrained by sound culture is being manifested in the development of the national government. The Federal Constitution is no longer adapted to the industrial civilization it attempts to govern. Industry employs twentieth century methods, while the Constitution is an eighteenth century product. The overman, who is trying to get into the Senate for business or social purposes should join in the effort to make Senate and House representative, preferably by their union in one official body. Then he could extend the Federal jurisdiction, he could insure public conservation

whether municipal, state or national, he could legalize railway combinations and pools, unify divorce and marriage laws, secure just taxation, control foods and liquors in the interest of public health, maintain dignity in foreign relations, give the States home rule, and promote public morality.

Thirdly—The business man possesses force, but frequently not character. One of the most forceful men in the public eye at the time of his unfortunate death was Mr. Harriman. He was doing what ought long ago to have been done, and ought by this time to be legal—consolidating the great trunk railway lines. Mr. Harriman's force was admirable, but he unblushingly confessed to practices which disinterested people regard as flagrantly dishonest. Force is an element of character, and nice discriminations are likely to be overlooked in the presence of forceful and useful accomplishment, but public morality may be thereby subverted.

When the Chicago stockyards revelations were confirmed in the calm report of the Presi-

dent's committee, following the insinuations of a perfervid novelist, the Chicago business men united in giving a clean bill of health to the packers, whose improvements have since testified to the truth of the criticisms. This certificate of character was offered by the business world to preserve the "fair name of Chicago," forgetful that elementary morals demanded that Chicago repent in sackcloth and ashes, or at least crêpe and soot, if the name, already sullied, were to be redeemed.

Why should the moral vision be limited by viewing society through the wrong end of the financial field-glass?

The bankers, "honorable gentlemen all," twice unanimously, in annual convention, opposed the postal savings banks. No express official dares to admit the inferiority of the United States parcel post, which sends a package to Europe more cheaply than from an American city to its suburb. Even the hotel keepers' association disapproves of the parcel post, because it would favor the mail-order houses, which would reduce the number of

commercial travellers, which would injure the hotel business! All of these gentlemen view with abhorrence the "class-conscious" propaganda of the orthodox Socialists!

The merchants of Market Street, Philadelphia, in an effort to solve the local transportation problem which afflicts that city with most others, made a proposition to the company and the city with a view to harmony. It must be borne in mind that Philadelphia has been bound, hand and foot, to a corporation, spoiled by years of tolerance in an abject community. The responsible merchants proposed that all the previous misdeeds of the corporation be overlooked, its watered stock guaranteed by the city, and thenceforth a partnership be established, the city to receive half of all revenues above six per cent. Only one merchant in Philadelphia had ever shown any sympathy for the public as against the corporation, yet many thoughtful Philadelphians seemed ready to accept the more than dubious proposal on the strength of the signatures appended to it. Furthermore, the papers, even

the yellowest, refused to print articles and interviews favorable to the public. Is it surprising that such a company in such a city should not feel bound by its obligations to either the public or its employees? Yet, when it illegally abandons the system of selling six tickets for twenty-five cents, or plunges the city into anarchy with street railway strikes, it should be remembered that the low standard of public morality in Philadelphia is at least coincident with what the inhabitants of the average American city would regard as the doubtful character of its merchants.

In seeming contrast with this experience is that of Chicago, whose street railway franchises have been heralded throughout the land as exceptionally favorable to the city. Here, too, one must be reminded, is a background of civic history. Chicago's municipal ownership agitation alone rendered impossible a repetition of Philadelphia's experience. The actual details of the franchises are unimportant, except that they are so many that it has been said that only the corporation lawyers and the

city's special traction counsel can interpret them. Yet, in spite of repeated and unmistakable demands from the people for municipal ownership, these franchises, which were offered as a more practicable solution, were rushed through the City Council in the middle of the night. Then the business interests demanded that they be passed finally, without the referendum, which had been promised the people, claiming that the public was tired of being consulted. Greatly to their surprise a huge petition for submission to a popular vote was secured in an incredibly short time. That the people voted for the franchises, after insisting on the referendum, only shows how shortsighted the bullying business man can be.

This distrustful and overbearing attitude was also evidenced in Boston, where a business man's commission presented to the legislature a bill for a new charter, framed primarily to prevent the election of a previous mayor, and based halfheartedly on the best American experience. All but the single labor member opposed a referendum, but even the Chamber

of Commerce, under great pressure of wise leaders, demanded submission to a popular vote. The legislature, moved by the business man's commission on one side and office-holding politicians on the other, finally presented to the people a choice of two charters. The people chose the lesser evil, as might have been expected, but the electorate which had been treated with such condescension refused to elect the business man's candidate for mayor, and the overman is still innocently wondering why his experience met with ingratitude. A combination of culture and character would have devised a wiser charter, would not have squandered its energies on ephemeral political situations, and would have been honorable enough to invite and enjoy the confidence of the people.

Philadelphia's dishonorable supremacy is threatened only by San Francisco, where the graft prosecution, which promised for a time to reach the culprits "higher up," has been suppressed. As phrased by a typical editor there, they feared that the graft proceedings

would become an "institution." So an alliance was made between respectable business and a corrupt labor party to suppress morality for the furtherance of prosperity, a process not confused by the surrender of a prizefight to get an exposition. It certainly takes a faith that is "childlike and bland" to continue to take *interest* in the city of the *Golden* Gate, the *capital* of the Sunset Sea!

It is frequently said that business men would enter politics and give us the benefit of their executive ability and unimpeachable characters, but a political campaign may sully their reputations and the time consumed in public affairs interfere with their business. Then, too, they might not be elected! The business district of Chicago is represented in the City Council by Aldermen Kenna and Coughlin, popularly known as "Hinky Dink" and "Bathhouse John." These statesmen, whose position seems almost self-perpetuating, correspond to the liveried representatives of the London guilds, those mediæval survivals which arouse such mirth in the American

abroad. They will hold office, not merely as long as the reformers say they levy tribute on gamblers, prostitutes, and lodging-house keepers, but while they are unopposed by the business interests. In truth, the character of the community is represented in its government and written in its streets, that he who reads may run.

Directly or indirectly, the brains of the community will govern. If the business interests of the city would indorse municipal ownership, when such sentiment exists, its success would be assured, as it is generally abroad. If the business interests demanded fair franchises, such, and such alone, would be granted. The overman must demonstrate that he believes, at least, in the municipal ownership of the city government, and its consequent freedom from boss and business rule. It is legitimate for the public to measure the character of the overman by his disinterested devotion to city and nation. Still, the public must learn to be tolerant of the overspecialized business man for the misdirection of his virility, brains, and

force, due to the exacting system of which he is not the author. The public will be tolerant as he gains the courage, culture, and character needed to fit him for public service. "He that is greatest among you shall be your servant."

THE OVERESTIMATED ANGLO-SAXON

CHAPTER II

THE OVERESTIMATED ANGLO-SAXON

THE Anglo-Saxon has been predestined from the dawn of history to play the leading part in industrial development, as soon as the world-market embraced the entire globe. His pre-eminence in economic and social evolution is due primarily to his position of natural advantage among modern commercial nations. He is, at once, the child of fortune and the maker of destiny.

The expression, "from the dawn of history," has been used with intent. Primeval Britain was part of a great continent extending to Greenland and Iceland. Even in the (geologically speaking) comparatively recent Pleistocene age the British Isles were a part of the continent of Europe, the English rivers joined the Rhine, the Elbe, and others, to make

a mighty stream flowing into the North Atlantic Ocean.[1] The separation of the British Isles from the mainland by "the narrow streak of silver" known as the Straits of Dover, has altered the history of the world and the destiny of nations. When the elements declared peace at the close of the Pleistocene age England came into the heritage of the "favored nation clause," but the claim could not be made good until the expansion of the world in the fifteenth century.

To appreciate the altered relations of England to civilization we must project ourselves into the Mediterranean world of the Ptolemaic geography, which represented the known world down to the close of the fifteenth century. Mediæval civilization was almost wholly confined to the European area accessible to the Mediterranean Sea. The world powers were all located there. Scandinavia was unknown; Germany, the Netherlands, and Britain, were not to be compared with Italy, France, and the Iberian peninsula. The expropriation of

[1] Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, p. 151.

Europe having reached its limit under the known industrial methods the Far East was the goal of wealth seekers. The Mediterranean nations possessed the advantage of location and profited by it. The isolated position of the British Isles, actually at the end of the world, is admirably shown in Ptolemy's map of the world; even the Indian Ocean is of vastly greater importance than the Atlantic. Bearing in mind the ignorance of the virtues of the magnetic needle and the difficulties attendant on venturing into the open and unknown sea, we are not surprised that the contour of the British Isles was not better known. It is but another evidence of their insignificance.

The Mediterranean nations were doomed, however, to forfeit their natural advantages. In 1498 the Cape of Good Hope route to India was discovered. In 1515 the Turks fell on Egypt and blocked the only remaining land route to the east. The latter event was almost as important as the former, since it stimulated the development of the sea route to India.

The position of natural advantage in relation to the new route was enjoyed by Spain and Portugal. The energies of the former were, however, being directed elsewhere. For a long time the Portuguese, under the benediction of the pope, monopolized the trade with India. There was a force at work, however, more powerful than the benediction of a pope. The plucky Hollanders, progressive, independent, liberal, improved the art of navigation, traded freely with all nations, and finally supplanted the Portuguese in the East. The slight advantages of position and possession enjoyed by Portugal are overcome by the Netherlands through the superiority of the latter nation. Supremacy, as we shall see in a more important case, inevitably passes into the hands of the Northern nations, but character is not always to triumph over geography.

Meanwhile the destiny of nations was not being settled in the far East but in the unknown West. The early precedence of Spain in the discovery and settlement of the New World was not due merely to her advantage

of position between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, nor to the accident of Columbus' subsidy, but to the favoring ocean currents and prevailing winds. The prevailing winds are from the northeast, and the ocean currents sweep away from the Eastern Hemisphere, off the Iberian peninsula, toward the Gulf of Mexico and South America. Once having reached the West Indies, Florida, Mexico, South America, colonists were favored by a mild climate, which enabled them to sustain life easily, and to furnish temporarily an enormous advantage to the mother country. It was not possible, however, for this advantage to endure, for these colonists, enervated by a too favorable climate, succumbed to the more vigorous immigrants peopling the less hospitable shores, after the analogy of the victorious northern nations of the old country.

France, Holland and England, ignoring currents and winds, took advantage of the shortness of the northern route, and settled largely in accordance with isothermal lines. The immediate disadvantage but ultimate

benefit to the latter nations lay in establishing colonies where effort was needed to maintain an existence, but at the same time where effort was rewarded by more than an existence, a comfortable livelihood in an invigorating climate.

In general contour and coast line North America resembles Europe. Great navigable rivers flow to the sea, giving today ports of entry a thousand miles from the ocean. The land which England was to colonize was as much superior to the lands selected (involuntarily) by the Spanish as England is to Spain.[1] The climatic conditions of North America resembled those of these colonizing nations. The same plants and cereals grew there. The grains which had made energetic aborigines were supplemented by domestic animals, whose absence had kept the natives in the nomad state. With these advantages the cultivation of the relatively barren soil along the North

[1] Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonization chez les peuples modernes* (Paris, 1891).

Atlantic coast was not impossible, though sufficiently difficult to prove a selective agency in determining the character of the colonists.[1] Their power to labor was their chief source of strength. The climatic conditions produced only such diseases of men and cattle as were already known to the settlers, so that remedies were at hand, which was not true in the case of the Spanish settlers. These were, however, all deferred advantages. The palm at first seemed to belong to Spain, as is well shown by maps of the period. A map drawn by Johannes Schoener in 1520 locates America all below the equator, except the islands, the Antilles and others, opposite Spain, and an island under the Arctic circle on a parallel with Iceland.[2] A map of the year 1540 represents South America in much its present known form, but North America is a long peninsula, of which Yucatan and Mexico, Cuba and Florida are substantially correct, but the northern part

1 Shaler, *History of the United States,* vol. i, chaps. i, ii.
2 Lelewel, *Geographie du Moyen Age* (Brussels, 1850).

tapers off northeasterly (having a width from east to west for the most part of only a few hundred miles), not far from Iceland.

While these advantages of precedence were being overcome by natural causes in the New World similar forces were at work in the Old. The only nations to whom the conquest of the New World was possible were gradually eliminated by the character of the people or the location of the land until the contest was narrowed to two. Location was favorable to Spain and Portugal as well as to Holland and England. The two former were handicapped by the character of their colonies and their peoples. The superstitious, ill-governed Spanish and Portuguese were no worthy rivals for the individualistic, enterprising communities of the Netherlands and England, who were in some measure capable of self-government and who had been subjected to the clarifying influence of the Renaissance. The conflict was reduced to the Netherlands and England. England won by her geographical advantages. Freedom from war, guaranteed by the Chan-

nel, and easy access to the globe discounted the superiority of the Dutch in government and personal character.[1] These latter qualities were proof against Holland's militant conqueror, Spain, but had to yield the supremacy to commercially favored Britain. The Anglo-Saxon myth was germinating.

England's natural advantages were two: geographic and geological. As was first pointed out by Sir John Herschel, "If we describe a great circle round London, which at the present time is, in fact, the great focus of attraction for the commerce of the whole world, almost all the continental surface[2] surrounding the basin of the Atlantic, rendering it almost an inland sea, will fall within this hemisphere."[3] Within this great inland sea, London enjoys a position more favorable than

1 D. Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America,* vol. i.

2 Sixteen-seventeenths of the land surface of the globe, the land in this hemisphere being 47 million square miles as against five million in the other, one-half the entire hemisphere in the one case, one-twentieth in the other.

3 Reclus, *The Earth* (London, 1886), p. 36.

that occupied by Venice when she commanded the commerce of the Mediterranean. Not only does the bulk of the land of the world surround the Atlantic Ocean, with the British Isles in the center, but the greatest mountain ranges of the world in Asia, Africa, North and South America shut these continents off to some extent from the Pacific Ocean and help to complete the confined nature of the Atlantic hemisphere. As a result of these mountainous barriers, most of the great navigable rivers of the two hemispheres flow directly or indirectly into the Atlantic, bringing London and the British Isles not merely into contact with the seaports of the various countries, but also with the inland towns in the regions drained by these rivers. The Atlantic Ocean became the great highway of the world and all routes led to London. The Anglo-Saxon was revealed.

Hardly less important than geographical location in the commercial development of Britain are topography and geology. The configuration of the English coast line is one of the determining factors in her commercial

ascendancy. A straight line drawn along the east coast measures about 350 miles, along the west coast about the same, along the south 320, making a total of 1000 miles; "but so deeply is the coast indented that the total length of coast line is about 2400 miles—that is, one mile of coast to twenty-two square miles of surface. This great proportion of coast line is still more apparent when we compare England with the two great commercial nations of the continent—France, which has one mile of coast to seventy-nine square miles of surface, and Germany, which has a very much smaller proportion."[1] The number of excellent harbors is scarcely less remarkable than the indentations in the coast.

Allusion has already been made to the relief of the land. It slopes gently toward the southeast, making many of the rivers navigable for a relatively great distance. At the same time the location of the mountains has an important effect in making the climate equable by controlling the moisture and winds.

[1] *The World* (Longmans), p. 100.

England, of course, shares with western Europe the advantage of the influence of the Gulf Stream and warm air currents, the contrast with countries in the same latitude, e.g., Labrador, on the west shore of the Atlantic, being most marked. Nature has again been very generous in shaping the surface of the land. "England is distinguished among all the countries of Europe for the great variety of geological formations. It is the very paradise of the geologist, for it may be said to be in itself an epitome of the geology of almost the whole of Europe, and of much of Asia and America. . . . Whatever may be the mineral riches of America or Australia, the British Isles remain the most productive mining country in the world." [1] The mineral wealth is not only great, but a large variety of rocks lie quite near the surface, so that it has been literally necessary only to scratch the ground to produce wealth.

This England, blest above all her sisters,

[1] Reclus, *The British Isles* (ed. by Ravenstein), pp. 7, 8.

slowly and painfully subdued Nature, who was destined to be her slave. "It remained even at the close of Roman rule an 'isle of blowing woodland,' a wild and half reclaimed country, the bulk of whose surface was occupied by forest and waste. The rich and lower soil of the river valleys, indeed, which is now the favorite home of agriculture, had in the earliest times been densely covered with primeval scrub." [1] The climate was much more disagreeable than now.[2] The impassable forests of Surrey, Kent, and Sussex, the marshes of Lincoln, Cambridge, and Norfolk have become gardens. The unseen veins of coal in Lancashire, Durham, and South Wales have made possible the British Empire. But until the expansion of the world these treasures were unappreciated.

The Anglo-Saxon was pre-eminently insular. His first effort was naturally directed to the development of the superficial advantages of

[1] Green, *The Making of England,* § 8. See, also map.

[2] Gibbins, *Industry in England* (London, 1896), p. 18, and map, p. 65.

his country, with such happy results that until the middle of the eighteenth century, England was dominantly pastoral and agricultural. The exports of minerals and manufactures previous to the modern commercial era, while not to be ignored, were distinctly insignificant as compared with the importance of agriculture, and another enterprise intimately connected with the soil, wool raising. "To the Ghent and Bruges of the Middle Ages, England stood in the same relation as the Australian colonies hold to the Leeds and Bradford of our own day. The sheep which grazed over the wide, uninclosed pasture lands of the island formed a great part of the wealth of England, and that wealth depended entirely on the flourishing trade with the Flemish towns in which English wool was converted into cloth." [1]

From prehistoric times England had been in communication with continental peoples, but her position was one of passivity. Commerce was developed at the hands of Venetians or

[1] Gardiner and Mullinger, *Introduction to the Study of English History* (London, 1894), p. 86.

the Hansa towns, or the Spanish or Portuguese, or the Dutch. The development even of domestic manufactures was due to the immigration of skilled artisans into England, as a result of religious persecutions. The Anglo-Saxon was as rustic as he was insular. The "nation of tradesmen" was innocent of the elements of trading. Under Edward VI, in the middle of the sixteenth century, "it was enacted that whoever should buy any corn or grain with intent to sell it again should for the first fault suffer two months' imprisonment and forfeit the value of the corn; for the second, six months' imprisonment and forfeit double the value of the corn; for the third, be set in the pillory, suffer imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeit all his goods and chattels." [1] Insular in commerce, the people were also insular in mind and manners. "She had originated nothing of her own. Satirists held that Englishmen fetched their dress and external accomplishments from foreign na-

[1] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (Globe edition), p. 412.

tions. 'I think,' says Portia in the *Merchant of Venice* of her English lover, 'he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behavior everywhere.' " [1]

Observe the transformations wrought by Columbus and his fellow adventurers! The immediate, tangible result of the era of discoveries was the creation of a world-market. The control of this market finally rested in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon. Spanish armadas, navigation acts, piratical expeditions are mere incidents,—often, it is true, very discreditable incidents,—but still subordinate to the great dominant features of natural advantage. The first great benefit to England of this position of advantage was that she gained command of the carrying trade of the world's commerce. It was a great achievement of a hitherto uncommercial nation to become "mistress of the seas," but she was to enjoy an even higher position and to give a greater interpre-

[1] Gardiner and Mullinger, p. 124.

tation to her maritime dominance. Added to her favored position she had the internal, but undeveloped, advantages which enabled her to supplant not merely the ships of other nations, but their cargoes. Africans or Asiatics could not have resisted such economic pressure, as the rise of Japan has more recently demonstrated.

England has developed this world-market, often at the expense of primitive nations, but on the whole to the advantage of her present rivals. The methods which she adopted in the eighteenth century to supply this market were those used since then by all industrial nations—cheapened production and distribution. The new continents were an outlet for the population of the European states. The New World furnished food in superabundance for a growing population, but they had to look to the Old World for clothes and many other simple necessaries. To clothe these colonists Englishmen wore rags. "Cheap and expeditious" were the methods adopted. The demand of the world was pressing. England occupied

the favored position. For half a century she gave herself to the task of clothing the New World. What wonder then that multitudes in England were forgotten and went unclothed.

The rapidity with which mechanical improvements were introduced, the transformation effected in methods of production by the introduction of steam, the development of a magnificent system of roads, the building of canals, and finally the construction of railways, altered the face of England. In 1688 the agriculturists probably out-numbered those engaged in trade and commerce four to one. Between 1811 and 1831 the increase in agricultural families was two and one half percent., in manufacturing and trading families thirty one and one-half per cent. The independent yeomanry, who were supposed to have numbered 180,000 at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had all but disappeared at its close. The race altered with the institutions. It is to be observed that the first industrial expansion took place in an entirely new industry, the cotton

manufacture, which was exempt from the restrictive legislation and hampering traditions which applied to the existing industries. Once more geography and geology play their parts; the fine port of Liverpool gave access to the coal region of Lancashire, so that American cotton could readily reach the first great modern industrial center.

The results of these revolutionary changes were a shifting of the population from the south to the north of England; from the country to the rapidly growing cities; and the introduction of highly specialized division of labor with its consequences of great factories, employment of women and children, long hours, low wages, ignorant foremen, careless and conscienceless proprietors. Great and pressing problems began to accumulate; overcrowding in cities, unemployment, pauperism, unsanitary conditions, illiteracy, intemperance and a host of others. These too were the legacy of nature. No man was responsible for their creation, whoever might have been charged with their continuance. The industrial rev-

olution had come upon a nation unprepared for its consequences, because the accident of position thrust an inconspicuous people into the leadership of a world-wide commerce and the government of the world's largest and greatest empire. How the nation has grappled with these problems is beginning to be appreciated. Their successful and unsuccessful solutions will prove invaluable to us and other nations where the same problems are developing, if we frankly recognize that England was inevitably the forerunner in these industrial and social changes and consequently must be possessed of the valuable knowledge which comes only from experience.

The one power which can take away from England her precedence is the annihilation of distance. The encroachments of the less favored nations may be explained by the fact that location has ceased to have the prime significance which it possessed in previous centuries. The three great inventions, whereby the genius of man has been able to bring the extremes of this globe nearer together than

were the distant parts of mediæval civilization, were successively appropriated by England to strengthen her position of natural advantage. The magnetic needle, in the fifteenth century, gave her ships command of the world's commerce. Steam, in the eighteenth century, coupled with her geological, and geographical superiority, gave her the first position in industry. Electricity, in the nineteenth century, has for a time enabled her to maintain the solidarity of the British Empire, the evidences of which cause every foreign visitor to the city of London to marvel. But electricity, by its annihilation of distance, has been friendly to England's competitors; first the New World and then the Orient advanced by this latest invention into the field of rivalry. The chief contemporary evidence of Britain's having made the best use of all the auxiliaries of commerce lies in the fact that she alone has been able to maintain a system of free trade. The growing protectionist sentiment is a testimony to the loss of some of the advantages of her position.

Britain is the upstart among nations; her opportunity was long delayed, but when it was thrust upon her she seized it. Deny the Anglo-Saxon none of the laurels of success; the crown of victory still belongs to the god of battles who located the strategic sites occupied by the favored army of industrial invaders of the world-market. "Honor to whom honor is due." "Progress and poverty" are the marks of modern civilization. The forerunner of contemporary industrialism is the nation of the *nouveaux riches* and the *nouveaux pauvres.* In the wake of the Anglo-Saxon come potential good and unnecessary evil; prosperity and misery, the Puritan conscience and graft, temperance and debauchery, piety and hypocrisy, law and injustice, chastity and miscegenation, manufacturer and "hands," the gentleman and the hooligan, the overman and the submerged tenth. The overestimated Anglo-Saxon race is a mythical mongrel in five continents; the Anglo-Saxon institutions rule the civilized world, the happiest accident in the history of civilization.

The testimony of a British democrat, who turned imperialist, seems impartial: "There are some people who seem to think an unlimited supply of what we call the Anglo-Saxon race is the best remedy for all the evils of the world. Without wishing to be needlessly unpatriotic, I do not think the unlimited Anglo-Saxon is an altogether unmitigated blessing. The filibuster, the mercantile adventurer, and the missionary have not been so perfectly successful between them in dealing with the problem of the lower races; for the mere disappearance of lower races before the rum supplied by the trader and the clothes enjoined by the missionary (to the great profit of the Lancashire manufacturer) is not quite a satisfactory solution. What has been already said about the transmission of a type of culture, irrespective of the continuity of the race that first developed it, seems to help one here. We need have less doubt of the excellence of our language and of our literature and of some of our institutions than of the supreme excellence of our race, and there is nothing to prevent distant

tribes and nations regarding Europe, and Britain not least, as the school or university to which they shall send their most promising youth, in order to adopt just so much of our civilization as suits them, so that they may work out their problems in their own manner." [1]

The survival of the fittest resulted in the raw, sturdy Saxon of primitive England. The survival of the fittest resulted in Elizabethan letters and piracy at the time of the national awakening; in the romanticists and capitalists at the end of the eighteenth century; in the overman at the beginning of the twentieth. Opportunity made insignificant England mistress of the seas, made the overspecialized business man master of civilization. "To him that hath shall be given." Democracy must accept the principle of the survival of the fittest, but see in the Anglo-Saxon and the Overman the worthy beneficiaries of opportunity. A superior race and civilization will follow the diffusion of opportunity, denied by its possessors

[1] Ritchie, D. G., *Darwinism*, pp. 78, 79.

to women and workmen, the children of the poor, the average citizen, and the people of color. The survival of the fittest may, by direction, become the survival of the best. Mastery by service is the salvation of men and of man.

THE OVERCOMPLACENT AMERICAN

CHAPTER III

THE OVERCOMPLACENT AMERICAN

THE nervous, energetic, cocksure American is not without a curious blend of complacency. He vociferously asserts his rights, while he silently disregards his own and others' duties. The dictum of Pope, "Whatever is, is right" sums up his philosophy. Conditions which are the result of rapid and unstable transformations of industrial life are regarded as permanent and inevitable, and are treated as though they were the result of a divine fiat delivered at the dawn of creation.

Our public and economic life suffers from two disguised afflictions—one, historic; the other, pre-historic. The latter is the long storing of our continent with its priceless natural resources; the former, the spontaneous Minerva-like birth of our Federal Constitution

from the mind of Alexander Hamilton. We are too rich and comfortable to be under the necessity of thinking. There is poverty, but it is relative, and the pinch is not yet severe enough to produce a revolution. In addition to the constraint of easy wealth, there is the incubus of a written Constitution, devised for an emergency nearly a century and a quarter ago, by men afraid of democracy, for communities which needed temporarily some automatic political system. Between the undoubted natural resources and the supposed supernatural document optimism grows rank.

In spite of these invitations to complacency, the natural resources in some localities approach exhaustion, and the Constitution is being bent almost to the point of breaking. Meanwhile the undisturbed American forgets that both the country and the Constitution grow. The hand is still the hand of Alexander Hamilton, but the voice is already the voice of the people. They will never know enough to buy back their inheritance with a mess of pottage, but they may regain it at not too

extravagant a price if they cease their complacency. The somnolent American regards politics as politics when in fact it has never been anything but business. It will be recognized as public business instead of private business when it is also measured by ethics. A consideration of the ethics of some of those national problems, commonly conceived as strictly economic or political, arouses the hope that a constructive consciousness may succeed the inertia of complacency.

A logical and convenient measure of the American's excessive amiability is found in the tariff. It is a subject we can discuss without fear of effective contradiction, as nobody knows anything about it. There have been two commissions appointed to revise the tariff, whose reports have been ignored by Congress. We might avail ourselves of their investigations, but of course, however thorough these were, they are now antiquated. The present commission gives promise of more light, but there is no guarantee that it will be appreciated by Congress. All the time the tariff

bills have been constructed without regard to either justice or intelligence. The customary method of estimating the proper tariffs on commodities imported into this country is to exchange votes in the Ways and Means committee. The New England member has convictions about the tariff on wool, which he trades for the equally sincere convictions of a westerner on hides. Corrupt influences may have affected the determination of certain tariffs, but the tariff could be just as unfair as it is unscientific were all the members voting conscientiously.

The fundamental fallacy is in the assumption that the familiar methods are wise or honorable. Is it not just as immoral to pass a tariff by ignorance as by corruption? The responsibility, however, does not end with the Ways and Means committee. The people of the United States tolerate these methods for no better reason than that they bring general prosperity, or are supposed to be responsible for it. The acquiescence in individual instances is a conscious perjury of the intellect.

A representative Southern lawyer, interested in various industrial enterprises, has said: "I am of course a traditional Free Trader, and believe in the ethics of Free Trade, but we need the tariff on lumber." This typical testimony of the overman is a little franker and more admirable than the indifferent and conscienceless endorsement of the people at large, but it is also more intelligently responsible.

Another of the immoralities attendant on the present tariff situation is that the genuine Free Trader being nearly as extinct as the Dodo, neither he nor the party which regards itself as the defender of his theory does anything whatever to make it effective. During the two terms of administration by the Democratic Party there was much vaporing on the tariff, but not a cloud as small as a man's hand indicative of any change in the McKinley or Dingley tariff bills. The situation is still more deplorable now when a Republican tariff can only be passed with the assistance of corrupt Democratic votes and in opposition to discriminating

Republican votes. The failure to justify the traditional American sense of humor was never more conspicuous than in the last political campaign, when both parties demanded the right to revise the tariff because of the peculiar fitness of each. The public decided that the Republican Party, while more shameless in its demand for this privilege, was also more effective, so that the complacency of the American people on the tariff has now resulted in the moral compromise that rascals who make good are worthier of support than ineffectual rascals. The American public has betrayed its price, as unmistakably as a cheap grafting politician; the price is prosperity, which, unaccompanied by justice, makes a nation of grafters.

The tariff may be an imposition on the consumer, but it does produce revenue. The American is equally complacent when indirectly taxed without any financial return. Recuperation from war and preparation for war provide one of the most vexed financial problems for us, as for other people, but even in armament-ridden Europe they do not add to the burden

of the war superstition that of pensions for soldiers who never served or suffered. No courageous voice is any longer raised in Congress concerning the pension scandal. If anyone whispers the suspicion that what is universally known may be true, it is construed into an attack on the old soldiers. This is an astounding case of moral obliquity. Why should the soldiers or their friends think themselves insulted when it is suggested that the chaff be flayed out? The leaders in this selective process ought to be the G. A. R., who should not leave it to civilians, women and preachers.

Apropos, a couple of typical instances may be pertinent. A man wanted to see his friend, then our consul in Berlin. The latter was not at liberty to visit as he was compelled, that day, to pay out pensions to six hundred Germans who had served in the Civil War. The difference in the purchasing power of money enabled them to spend the rest of their days without giving service to native or adopted land. After the Cuban War a poll was taken to de-

termine the possible demand for pensions. Out of a Georgia Regiment three who had been injured at the front made application for pensions. In one Massachusetts regiment, 621 who had never set foot in Cuba, thought they might want pensions. The good old state of Massachusetts has got so used to feeding at the trough that its near-soldiers compared somewhat unfavorably with the Georgians, who actually served in the Spanish War. There are doubtless millions being mulcted from our government annually; we do not know just how much, for since the Spanish American War it has been unpatriotic to protect the national treasury, except for the prevention of necessary public improvements. No American fails to rejoice in the fact that we undertake to pension those who have offered to lay down their lives for their country, but what right does that give us to spend public funds to take care of those who only pretend to have done service?

There is a still larger question than this of graft. Is the man who sacrifices his life in war

the only one who is deserving of reward? What a gigantic problem it is to try to provide the American people with coal! There never was a war juster than this daily provision to enable us to cope with the cold. Yet as the miners put it, they bet three dollars a day with their employers that they will escape. Three hundred of these gamblers lost their lives in the Cherry mine disaster. The men at Cherry were employed by a company that had no adequate capital; its credit came from the railway which bought the coal. According to the law a life is valued at $5,000, but this company could not pay so much. Friends of the miners, in amicable relations with the officials of the Company and the railroad, have agreed to commute the indemnity on the English method. If each family gets $1500, the largest amount they can hope to be paid, the railway company will provide the funds. This is but one-third of what the law of Illinois allows, in some cases not one sixth; but here is a mining company that can do no more, a state without any adequate liability laws, a population which is

absolutely dependent on these miners, and yet whose citizens sit dumb and indifferent, if these martyrs who offer their lives daily are not protected, while the chances for loss of life are vastly greater in the mines than they are in any American War.

Our pension system represents only a fraction of our expenditure for war and potential war. We are told we must police our nations as we now police our cities; navies and armies are growing everywhere. Although the United States had not much trouble while it was weak in armaments, they are ardently advocated by our loudmouthed neighbors; the leaders in this noble enterprise being the most bekissed American officer and the much besmirched Hearst papers. Our business men might unite with business men of other nations to reduce these expenses, if they were not so complacent or did not profit by supplying materials. What does it matter whether we spend a million or a hundred millions, if we sustain a navy of the same relative strength to those of other nations!

Although these expenses now amount to seventy per cent. of our national budget, we do not feel in this country the crushing expense felt in poorer nations. People like indirect taxes because they do not know when these are imposed. They are slowly beginning to think that they furnish not only money, but lives. We cannot maintain a standing army or navy without inviting the shedding of blood; nor can we keep men in idleness without demoralizing them. There is no barracks of celibates without its vices. Part of the price we pay for a standing army is in terms of feminine as well as masculine degradation.

The puerile practice of spending numerous millions in preparation for peace is one of the most absurd results of thoughtless profit-making. To tolerate having the seven great nations of the world spend nearly a billion and a half a year in the alleged interest of civilization, is to possess the greatest modern superstition. This sum would provide industrial education for all children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen in these seven countries,

and leave enough over for old age pensions for all the old people over sixty-five. If the expenditure were reduced to any reasonable police proportions that our most progressive president or congress might demand, there would still be enough either to take care of all the old people, or to educate the children for industrial efficiency.[1]

We have not even the excuse of patriotism for carrying deadly weapons, which is more common in this country than in any other. The reason for this is not merely that our brutal men want it, or the primitive men demand it, but that our most respectable citizens have the habit. The excuse of protection is vain; more lives are lost than protected by this savage custom. When a man in one apartment grows so careless that a woman across the court in another apartment house is shot, it seems as though this form of the destruction of life has reached the limit of human endurance. If the assassination of presidents Lincoln, Garfield

[1] The economic defense of war is annihilated by Norman Angell's *Europe's Optical Illusion.*

and McKinley and Mayor Harrison, inspired no remedy but our silly anarchist exclusion act, may the unsuccessful attempt on Mayor Gaynor disturb our lethargy! Federal licensing of firearms would locate all weapons and hold owners responsible; but the overcomplacent American might cry, "Centralization!"

Is it appreciated by the American that in Canada three in every million lose their lives by homicide, while in the United States the number is 129 in a million? We are over forty times as destructive of human life by violence as is our sister country of the same race. In Chicago 590 lives were lost in the Iroquois fire. Legislation was immediately put into effect,—legislation which is periodically violated. Why was not the whole world protected against the repetition of such a holocaust? Yet shortly thereafter 200 children were burned to death in East Cleveland, and 150 women and children in the Boylestown, Pa., fire. The progress of vicarious salvation is tedious even in Christendom. Our chief way of recognizing the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, is

to take a certain number of lives and offer them on the altar of boisterous patriotism. One of the hopeful signs of the times is that the American people are substituting for their barbaric way of celebrating the Fourth of July a peace offering of genuine patriotism. Chicago, Boston and other cities followed Springfield, Mass., this year in substituting pageants for human sacrifices.

Much of this destruction of human life goes on in the name of progress! The car of progress, it is said, must not be stopped! Are we not mistaking a modern juggernaut for the car of progress? Even when, in revolt against such lame pretenses, the protection of human life and the defense of civilization are sought in legislation which is not identical with the laws of other states. Immediately there is discrimination and consequent injustice. Our only way to get uniform laws is to begin a separate agitation in one state after another and slowly gain, state by state, what federal legislation could accomplish at a stroke. We must get a concert of opinion among these

states, which seems to be just as difficult as to get a concert of action among European states for peace. Complacency is bolstered up by the accumulated inertia from years of apathy.

We need legislation, national in scope, for those affairs which cannot be regulated by the states; but the Constitution is difficult of revision; the average American thinks it ought not to be revised; and the great majority of people fear the centralization of legislative power at Washington. Instead of devising adequate machinery to deal with the domestic problems of the United States, the federal maid-of-all-work is now the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is supposed to supplement our antiquated constitution by controlling every new expression of twentieth century civilization, from the revolt against upper berths in sleeping cars to the development of correspondence schools.

There are some people, it is true, who complain that the Interstate Commerce Commission is already over-burdened. It is now the custom to ask them to do everything which

nobody else has done, or will do, and they uncomplainingly undertake these functions. Is it not in strict accordance with the best American tradition to relieve cabinet officials, Congress, and the state legislatures, not to mention citizens, of all their obligations, and impose these upon some newly created body? It has been seriously proposed to put upon this commission the regulation of child labor, by having it forbid the acceptance by the railways of the products of child labor when they reach state lines. In lieu of an amendment to the constitution, or the exercise of federal police power, the children of the nation are to be stunted physically, mentally, and morally, unless the poor old Interstate Commerce Commission can reach them indirectly.

We have had some embarrassment because our curious division of functions between the states and the nation has prevented our making proper reparation to European countries for crimes, like those at New Orleans, committed in an individual state. Why not require the I. C. C. to refuse transportation

across the state line to any of the inhabitants of Louisiana until reparation has been made. We are also troubled by the varieties of marriage and divorce laws among the several states. Why not have the I. C. C. forbid the railways to transport divorcées across political boundaries.

If we cannot have federal registration and regulation of firearms, why not have the I. C. C. prohibit the railways carrying concealed deadly weapons, including, perhaps, defective locomotive boilers, airbrakes, couplers, and car-heaters. It might even be within reason to expect the inclusion of exposed instruments of torture, such as news-agents. Then there are the growing problems of old age pensions, income taxes, consumption, prize fights, and the many other difficulties, illy regulated because of the curious political divisions of the United States. It might even be worth considering whether the difficulty of disciplining docile congressmen could not be met by having the railways refuse to carry them across the state lines to Washington until they consent to represent

their constituents, instead of truckling to the Speaker of the House.

The average American accepts municipal misgovernment as though it were inherent in American character. His general attitude toward all subsequent public improvements is that they must be conditioned on the acceptance of perpetual corruption. Even earnest municipal reformers have tried to plan charters which would act on the body politic as antiseptics instead of tonics. The American finds it hard to believe that any other city is better governed than his own. He discredits the reports which come from a half hundred or more American cities which are now being governed by the "commission" plan. He accounts for the superior government of European cities by the difference in the character of the people and the prevalence of monarchical institutions. The fact that the cities of Great Britain, France, and Switzerland are controlled with much more democracy than those in America is either unknown or inexplicable to him. That there are many cities in South America

the government of which would put to shame any city of the United States he does not know and would not believe. Is there no other adequate explanation of this American attitude except that we are not intelligent enough to govern ourselves? We have not known enough, it is true, but we do not lack the capacity for knowledge; we might learn if we were not so ridiculously overcomplacent. The present rapid advance of the American city is due to our partial recovery from this benumbing self-satisfaction.

The attitude of the comfortable person is nowhere more conspicuously futile than in his conception of penal institutions. The moral sense of the people of this country demands the punishment of offenders, although without giving any special thought to the connection between the magnitude of the offense and the penalty. The easy going American, who possesses a virtue which has never been tested, finds it so difficult to understand the provocation to crime that he is indifferent to the fate of the criminal. He does not know that most

penal institutions promote crime rather than hinder it; or, that the delays of the law are more responsible for the encouragement of criminals than original sin; or, that the graver the offense, the less the likelihood of punishment. A twentieth century advance has been made by the United States Supreme Court in deciding that the punishment must be related to the offense.

Only a small fraction of homicidal crimes are ever punished and some of these, by lynching the culprit, or someone else, involve the brutalizing of hundreds of people. In the city of Cairo, Illinois, clergymen defended the mob leaders on the ground that justice was dilatory. While the uncaught criminal is treated with unwarranted generosity, those who are caught receive punishment of undue severity. France does not punish civil offenders for the first infraction of law, but gives a parole for three years. If another offense is committed within that time, the penalty is doubled. In a few cities only have we adopted such a wise system even for juvenile offenders, for we do not yet

see that leniency plus promptness in the application of the law is infinitely superior to severity with delay in enforcement.

In addition to this evidence of carelessness, indifference, and inhumanity, it is still true that people without money have difficulty in securing justice through the courts. The poor are constantly harassed by their creditors and frequently, under threat of the law, compelled to pay their debts over and over again, while they cannot make good their claims against individuals or organizations for injuries to body or property. They have not even the same facility in securing divorce as the wealthy. They cannot defend themselves against unjust taxation. The small number of people who secure damage claims against corporations, with the assistance of sympathetic juries, is inconsequent compared with the mass of people to whom the law is unjust. The old English couplet is as applicable to-day as when the poor man was being driven by the enclosure acts to make way for the rich man's sheep: "The law locks up the man or woman who

steals the goose from off the common, but lets the greater villain loose who steals the common off the goose." Stealing fowl may still be punished even in the Black Belt, but stealing Africa or Alaska has, hitherto, been done with impunity.

Overcomplacency extends to that industrial life where Americans are so strenuous. It is still the tradition that competition is the life of trade. This is a self-evident truth when competition is free, which, as everyone knows, rarely happens to-day. Very few of the big economic organizations of the day are competing, or they compete merely for excellence after prices are regulated. This, it is true, is a superior form of competition, approaching the emulation of the future, but it is not the competition which the superstitious regard as the life of trade. If one wishes to go from Chicago to various points west, he will find a choice of excellent trains, the best in the country, but the time and the cost of tickets are the same on all roads. What is happening on the railways is characteristic of the twentieth cen-

tury method of pools, combinations and trusts. It is inevitable that progressive industrial organizations, antagonized by the reactionaries, should be misunderstood by the overcomplacent. What is needed now is not a revival of eighteenth century competition but the regulation of monopoly. Could anything better happen for the life of the country than the unification of all the railways under uniform control? Railwaymen and statesmen may dispute as to the form of regulation but legislators must stop trying to enforce artificial competition.

The progressive overman must obey the law, but the overcomplacent citizen must make the law progressive.

Much of the legislation to secure justice in railway rates is ill-advised because of the greater necessity for improved service. Double tracks, safety devices, union stations, and good operation are more immediate than "two cents a mile," and do not necessarily prevent that reduction of rates which will encourage enough increased travel to pay for all added expenses. The Cleveland street railway system seems to

be run at a profit on a three-cent fare without injury to the service, but in most metropolitan communities the first need is for a unified system, and in all cities a reduced rate is less imperative than enough cars to provide seats for the passengers at rush hours. Perhaps the people should have the choice of cheap fares or good accommodations, but the vast majority of American citizens and most statesmen and publicists have been sitting calmly by waiting for men like Tom Johnson to work out, in sweat and blood, the solution of the transportation problem.

The examples of overcomplacency are immaterial. Its application is not limited to the tariff, pensions, industrial accidents, army and navy, the destruction of life, federal and state legislation, municipal mis-government, penal institutions, and the competition of trade. Like the hook-worm, it threatens to undermine the constitution of the nation and induces a lassitude, which regards with indifference the great fundamental issues. A correct diagnosis of this grave American ailment discovers

its cause in the rich resources of our country, making life easy, and the antiquated federal constitution, obscuring the civic vision. As the Chicago *Tribune* puts it: "Truth, crushed to earth, was rising, but with exceeding slowness. 'Why should I hurry, anyhow?' said Truth. 'The poet says the "eternal years" are mine.' With which lame excuse she also justified herself for never quite catching up with a fugitive Lie."

The corrective for overcomplacency, as for other forms of lethargy, is starvation. Jeshuran has waxed too fat to kick. A prolonged industrial depression would doubtless make people think. It might be possible to obviate the necessity for such a drastic remedy by inoculating the American people with the virus of fearless thought. The first moral responsibility of intelligent Americans is to abandon their overcomplacency long enough to reason independently of purse or superstition. They will then find the nation's wealth neither in hard rock nor dry document. They will be convinced "that the true veins of wealth are

purple—and not in Rock but in Flesh—perhaps even that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures."

THE OVERTHROWN SUPERSTITION OF SEX

CHAPTER IV.

THE OVERTHROWN SUPERSTITION OF SEX

THE day of the woman is dawning; the superstition of sex is overthrown. The arrival of the day of the woman does not guarantee that all the women have arrived; rather that the men have noted her arrival. The National Conference of Charities and Corrections has chosen Jane Addams for its first woman president, but we are not so moved as when women were first admitted to the platforms of anti-slavery meetings, despite the objections of riotous reformers. Children, church and cuisine no longer monopolize the energies of the modern, healthy woman, because the major part of her household activities have been eliminated by the industrial revolution. There is not enough domestic work for

all of woman's time, any more than there is agricultural work for man.

The leisure which may be enjoyed by a contemporary woman, while neglecting neither domestic labors nor the rearing of children, is typically represented by the Boston woman whose husband left her an interest and responsibilities in the catering establishment of a great railway station. She helped to administer this, until she sold out to become a stockbroker, without interfering with her social and public activities, which include the promotion of local educational interests, an executive position in a large fraternal organization, equal-suffrage and international peace propaganda, and other similar "outside" activities, while she is *incidentally* the mother of ten and a grandmother —at forty! A New York woman, after having had six children, has turned lawyer, and although one of her three grown sons is in the same profession, she has gone to Europe to assist in settling an estate for New York clients. The controversy between two opera singers as to the possibility of being a good

artist and having children at the same time, is answered to the satisfaction of the newspapers by a photograph of Mme. Louise Homer's twins. Why should they hamper professional success when Mme. Schumann-Heink is the mother of eight children!

The endurance of mothers has been so long familiar that the masculine mind quite generally forgets it while thinking complacently of the "weaker sex." It excites little comment to have a few children, but the athletic achievements of the contemporary Amazon stun the sex of brawn. Mrs. Hovey, who has recently described her ascent of La Soufrière, the volcano of Martinique, was only the first woman to make the ascent, having been followed by Madame La Croix. This is less astounding than the mountain-climbing of Mrs. Workman, involving among others a mountain in Turkestan twenty-one thousand feet high. Yet this pales before the virgin feats of Miss Annie Peck in the Andes.

Much of the feminine energy let loose by modern domestic improvements is being util-

ized in women's clubs. The heraldic sign of the age is the club-woman rampant, and she is, when most unconscious of it, a powerful liberator. The conditions that make club organizations, rather than the results achieved by them, mark the day of the woman. While women's clubs are modern—revolutionary in fact—we have already become so accustomed to them that we forget how they evidence the subtle undermining of conservatism. The idle woman of the metropolis, feebly imitating man in her social club, may be in process of emancipation, but the patent evidence of the ascent of woman is in the tacit recognition of human merit in the female. She is no longer merely captivating, but, at last, really competing with man and complementing him.

It is not surprising that a woman is president of a Bureau of Social Requirements in New York. Neither is it a mark of the new age that Mrs. Osborn opened a tea-shop or Mrs. Gouverneur Morris a toy-shop, or that Mary Elizabeth makes candies. These are distinctly feminine occupations, and it is much more sig-

nificant to learn that the president of Mount Holyoke College has stepped into a new president's house completely furnished by two women designers, and that in New York, Chicago, Louisville, Harrisburg, Boisé, Idaho, and elsewhere, women have no difficulty in competing with men in the decoration and furnishing of houses and public buildings. Since an energetic woman without children (and even emperors and presidents will probably admit that women should not be compelled to have children) can no longer employ all of her time in the decoration of her own house, it is logical that she should follow the industrial revolution into avenues related to domestic occupations.

The inventive faculty, commonly and properly supposed to be masculine, is most naturally directed to domestic advantage when possessed by a woman. A new mechanical device for a woman's work-basket, invented by a woman, is less surprising to-day than was the fact that Mrs. Nancy M. Johnson, of Washington, was the first person to take out a patent for an ice-cream freezer, in 1843, selling the right for

$41,000; yet both of these inventions pertain to woman's traditional occupations. The broom has been an accepted symbol of woman's sovereignty in all ages, but Mrs. Bissell has found a successful business career, not by sweeping cobwebs from the sky, but with the purely mundane carpet-sweeper.

The latest developments mark the new day by completely ignoring the economic traditions of woman. Women are serving as guides in Maine; there is a woman wireless operator on a steamship on Puget Sound; another is a pilot on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers; the granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton is a civil and hydraulic engineer, a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers. There have been many women school principals and superintendents, but the choice of a feminine superintendent of the Chicago schools, by a "business" administration of men, puts this responsible office in a new category, which received added recognition in her election to the presidency of the National Education Association.

The frank adoption of masculine methods, in order to beat the men at their own game, is modestly exemplified by the young Bryn Mawr graduate who published the following enticing advertisement:

"Situation wanted—Are you looking for brains? For an experienced correspondent who can write convincing letters, letters that get what they are sent to get? A clever woman who can write clever ads or clever talks on any subject and from any point of view? Some one expert in the use of stenography and typewriting? A hybrid from the university and business world? One who knows people and conditions and who can meet all combinations of the two with unwreckable *savoir faire*? That describes me exactly. Address B. A., 281, Tribune."

Is it surprising that she was swamped with answers?

Women who attain success in the most masculine of industries and financial positions are evidently multiplying. The statistician who prepares the annual report on the cotton crop for the Government is a woman, who is said to have increased her income from eight dollars

a week to ten thousand dollars a year. Trenton, New Jersey, has recently reported fifteen business women whose occupations are scarcely feminine. They include barbering, wholesale tobacco, real estate, undertaking, pharmacy, jewelry, piano-dealing, insurance, shoe-repairing, banking, and charcoal. South Chicago's situation is more spectacular, if less creditable. In addition to women doctors and police, a woman runs the worst saloon and another the best undertaking establishment, so that from birth to death, even by "the broad way that leadeth to destruction," a feminine hand may guide. It is only just to South Chicago to observe that a woman is injecting educational "lectures" into its vaudeville houses, following the example of a talented woman in Boston who conducts the most progressive cheap theater.

Reassurance may be found in Des Moines, Iowa, which has a life insurance company whose president is a woman. The vice-president of a large insurance company is reported to pay a salary of twelve thousand dollars to

a woman assistant who began as his stenographer, after renouncing school-teaching. The mother of three sons and a daughter is the owner and manager of the Boston Store in Chicago, which represents an investment of fifteen millions and the employment of 3,000 people. Since her husband died six years ago, she has added a twelve-story fire-proof structure, increasing the size of the store four times. The president of the Herrman Lumber and Furniture Companies, a woman, pays three thousand men two million dollars annually in wages. These instances may be exceptional, but obviously business women are more numerous, as not only statistics, but the increase of business women's clubs and leagues in various cities indicate.

More momentous for the future of the sex is the astounding increase in the number of women employed in industries, the five million women workers in the United States being found in two hundred and ninety-five of the three hundred and three occupations listed in the last census. Even more remarkable than

the extent of their employment is the proportionally larger increase of women wage-earners. The number of women gainfully employed and the number of women employed in each of the five large occupational groups have increased at a greater rate per cent. than the total population, the total male population, or the total female population. Most curiously, the increase is not in traditionally feminine activities, for the percentage of increase between 1890 and 1900 was greater for men than for women in the following occupations: launderers and laundresses, servants and waitresses, cotton-mill operatives, dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses, tailors and tailoresses.

Men are supplanting women as women supplant men. Instead of determining sex characteristics by old wives' fables or the prepossessions of gentlemen of the old school, economic functions are being adapted to individual proficiency. The perennial discussion of equal pay for men's and women's work, whatever may be its economic and social results, testifies to the power of women in the new order to

raise hitherto undreamed of questions, as does also the organization of women into unions with men or by themselves. The success of the Women's Trade Union League is largely due to the fact that working-women have the assistance of a larger number of "emancipated" members of their own sex than working-men.

Women are not only becoming a factor in the industrial world, they are making new contributions to all other human interests. The professions include women now as college professors, clergymen, doctors, lawyers, architects, landscape architects, even engineers. There are said to be two hundred and fifty women physicians in New York City. This perhaps is not so surprising as that a colored woman graduate of the Philadelphia Woman's Medical College has been admitted to the practice of medicine in South Carolina. Women are serving as sanitary inspectors and superintendents of street-cleaning and refuse-disposal in Chicago, Boston, and elsewhere. It is not generally known that Mrs. Ellen M. Richards, of the Massachusetts Institute of Tech-

nology, has the distinction of having trained most of the sanitary engineers in the United States.

Perhaps the most interesting phenomenon of the moment is the endeavor of women in private life to do public work left undone by men and to do it without any of the prestige of political independence. The Woman's Forum of New York, discontented with the mere discussion of public questions in which they are not supposed to participate, have undertaken an investigation of the bread-line which disgraces the alleged civilization of the metropolis. A talented woman lawyer begging organized but unenfranchised women to cooperate with the chairman of the Committee on Vagrancy is an anomaly which could not have been witnessed in an earlier stage of the world's development.

The confusion regarding woman's present function ought to be relieved by the successful municipal housekeeping experiments being conducted throughout the country. Even in disfranchised Washington, D. C., a city house-

cleaning crusade has been inspired by the women, which has resulted in the cleaning of 3,700 vacant lots, 500 private alleys and 10,000 cellars, wood-sheds and back yards. Many cities in the South and West have an annual spring cleaning day, conducted by the women, doing work which is, of course, logically feminine, but which can be done adequately only by the public authorities.

The Business Men's League of New Orleans has given Miss Kate M. Gordon a gold medal in recognition of her services to the city as president of the Woman's Drainage and Sewerage League. It was largely through her efforts that the women of New Orleans got tax suffrage, and, as president of the Drainage and Sewerage League, she is said to have cast more votes than any other citizen of the United States. The women, if they so prefer, may vote by proxy. Miss Gordon, it is declared, cast more than one hundred of these proxy votes.

National attention has been attracted to the public services of Miss Kate Barnard Com-

missioner of Charities and Corrections for Oklahoma. She had so much more to do with the framing of the new constitution than any other one person that she was, despite her own protests and those of conventional politicians, well-nigh unanimously chosen for a position which was created for her. Miss Barnard, whose feminine instincts have given her a vision of the possibilities of democracy in this frontier State, was, however, so hampered by the laborious masculine logic of her grateful supporters that she had to acquiesce in the popular belief that there is no need of the ballot so long as men do everything a woman wants.

The imaginary line between public and private life is so much clearer in the mind of the average American than it is in fact, that social organization, although hampered by curious political limitations, moves forward more rapidly than popular thought. When it becomes recognized that constitutions, charters and laws must be fitted to the public work to be done rather than the work conformed to existing statutes, the chief objection to the public

activity of women will be automatically removed. It is certainly a violation of all the precious sentiments of chivalry and political superstition that eighty thousand public documents should have been signed by the hand of a woman in the year 1908, with the name of Theodore Roosevelt.

This form of the feminine invasion is emphasized by the Des Moines (Iowa) *Capital:*

"Women were not slow to take advantage of the opportunities created by the promulgation of the civil service law in 1883, and their endeavors to secure Federal places have increased rather than diminished since that time. Unlike men, their efforts are confined almost wholly to securing appointment through competitive examination, inasmuch as political appointments are still closed to them. Women make a considerably better showing in examinations. Taking the stenographer-typewriter examination as an index, an examination that is conceded to be the most difficult clerical examination offered by the civil service commission, recent statistics show that of the women taking the examination fifty per cent. passed, while but forty-seven per cent. of the men were so fortunate. In the examination for departmental clerks, seventy-four per cent. of the women passed and but fifty per cent. of the men."

A more conspicuous denial of tradition is found in the appointment of women detectives and police. Chicago, New York and Bayonne, New Jersey, are among the places thus served by women.

With this steady march of the logic of events, it is not surprising that the agitation for equal suffrage has grown more vigorous and the opposition more desperate. The Woman's Municipal Leagues of New York and Boston, organized to instruct the women in civic affairs, and console them, by the privilege of public service, for the denial of the ballot, are proving so efficient that the anti-suffragists' claim of woman's incompetency seems threatened in the house of its friends.

The American claim that woman enjoys exceptional privileges here which vitiate the suffrage movement overlooks the necessity of balancing certain privileges against the lack of others. The State Senate of California defeated the equal guardianship bill the other day. Considering the youth and freshness of this Western State, such an action is in painful

contrast with the multiplication of women parish and municipal councilors in Great Britain, the extension of municipal suffrage to propertyless Norwegian women, the recent election of seven women out of forty-two municipal councilors at Copenhagen, the women in the Parliament of Finland, and the astounding rapidity of the development of the feminist movement in Turkey. A writer on the Young Turk movement furnishes this eye-opener: "It may sound heretical to say that the better class of Turkish women are the superiors of American women in cultivation. Well educated and with more leisure, since they do not have to spend so much of their time as their civilized sisters in frivolous pursuits, they give their attention to thinking." From the promotion of a feminine federation of South African aborigines, to the free participation of women in the political affairs of Australasia it seems to be true that "there is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world."

Equally significant, and for the Western world more immediately hopeful, is the entrance of women into all worthy human activities. The five million women wage-earners in the United States are not unique. There are six million in Great Britain! The successful business and professional women of America represent only the translation into our industrial country of the familiar women hotel-keepers and landed proprietors of Europe. In the realm of hygiene the trained nurse and the doctor are supplemented by the multitudes of women who are contributing to public health through hospitals, day nurseries, and the tuberculosis, pure food and other agitations.

In the social world woman is not only holding her time-honored position, but is learning the art of organization. Her entrance into political life is so rapid that the reluctant papers must chronicle new accomplishments almost daily. In the artistic world there is little to add except numerically, for woman has always had her place there. The intellectual life not only affords the distingushed examples

which have for all the centuries been evident, but the newer democratic forms of education meet with an even heartier response from women than from men. The competition of women has become so serious that several co-educational colleges have adopted segregation for the protection of the men. The predominance of girls in high schools has been the chief factor in introducing those manual subjects which are responsible for the increase in the attendance of the boys. No season now passes without some distinguished additions to the list of honors conferred by the universities on accomplished women, and thereby on themselves, of which the degrees given to Julia Ward Howe and Jane Addams are notable instances.

In the moral and religious life women have been traditionally faithful. But the new day is characterized by feminine leadership of philanthropic and religious institutions, including many preachers in liberal churches and more than one conspicuous founder of a new religion. Still more significant is the gradual establish-

ment of a common code of morals for both sexes. Years ago the Women's Christian Temperance Union, with a foresight not always characteristic of its tactics, gave impetus to the contemporary tendency, which is not feminist but human, in stating such principles as:

"We believe that God created both man and woman in His own image, and, therefore, we believe in one standard of purity for both men and women, and in the equal right of all to hold opinions and to express the same with equal freedom.

"We believe in a living wage; in an eight-hour day; in courts of conciliation and arbitration; in justice as opposed to greed of gain; in 'peace on earth and good will to men.'"

The day of the woman is not the day of her economic or political or intellectual recognition; it is not the day of the insinuation of a spurious superiority; it is not the day of defection from her prehistoric function; it is the day of the rejection of the superstition of sex and the acceptance of her common humanity.

THE OVERDUE WAGES OF THE OVERMAN'S WIFE

CHAPTER V

THE OVERDUE WAGES OF THE OVERMAN'S WIFE

THE curse of the overman is mastery without service. His standard being business, not life, he has a pecuniary measure for labor, art, education, statecraft, morality or even wifehood. He is chivalrous and conventional, but neither just nor democratic, industrially the master of men but socially the slave of tradition. Tradition estimates woman by her value to man, not to the race. The most famous description of a virtuous woman, and one accepted equally by both sexes, is that which has been attributed to Solomon's mother:

"Who can find a virtuous woman, for her price is far above rubies." (The patriarchal estimate of virtue is thus evident.)

"The heart of her husband shall safely trust

in her so that he shall have no need of spoil." (Thus removing the temptation which confronts the modern money king, who must provide for his ambitious wife's "conspicuous consumption.")

"She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life. She seeketh wool and flax and worketh willingly with her hands. She is like the merchantships. She bringeth her food from afar." (Thus she not only tends the cattle and the fields, for the sake of both clothing and food, but she goes to the distant market.)

"She riseth also while it is yet night and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens." (Early hours are quite indispensable in view of the extent of her labors.)

"She considereth a field and buyeth it. With the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard." (Her economies are not only sufficient for the needs of the household, but provide a surplus for investment.)

"She girdeth her loins with strength and strengtheneth her arms." (She has neither the

time nor the need for the physical culture or the medical aid demanded by the prosperous woman of to-day.)

"She perceiveth that her merchandise is good, her candle goeth not out by night." (Obviously because of her addiction to heavy work, not light literature.)

"She layeth her hands to the spindle and her hands hold the distaff." (Thus finding occupation for the winter as well as for the summer.)

"She stretcheth out her hands to the poor, yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy." (Even in those early and active days she found leisure for charity.)

"She is not afraid of the snow for her household, for all her household are clothed with double garments. She maketh herself coverings of tapestry, her clothing is silk and purple." (She was able to provide not only comforts for her family but luxuries for herself.)

"Her husband is known in the gates when he sitteth among the elders of the land." (All this time husband seems to have been absent

at the legislature, representing as women might have thought, in anticipation of Matthew Arnold, "that power not ourselves that makes for [un]righteousness.")

"She maketh fine linen and selleth it and delivereth girdles unto the merchants." (She not only dispenses with the need of a husband's support, but also has such excess of product that she can engage in a mercantile occupation, which helps to account for her ability to buy fields and to permit her husband to spend his time among the elders.)

"Strength and honor are her clothing and she shall rejoice in time to come." (Presumably she did not have much time to rejoice while engaged in these various occupations.)

"She openeth her mouth with wisdom and in her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh to the ways of her household and eateth not the bread of idleness." (In fact, even from the masculine point of view, she seems industrious.)

"Her children arise up and call her blessed.

Her husband also, and he praiseth her." (Praise seems to have been an afterthought on the part of husband, but certainly creditable, considering his preoccupation with the statesmen.)

"Many daughters have done virtuously." (The marginal reading is "have gotten riches" which throws light on the attitude of both the original author and the King James' translators, after an interval of twenty-five centuries.) "But thou excellest them all. Favor is deceitful and beauty is vain but the woman that feareth the Lord she shall be praised. Give her the fruit of her hands and let her own works praise her in the gates." (This condescending attitude of the philosopher king, while characteristic of chivalry in all ages, seems not to have been followed to its logical conclusion. While her works are still allowed to praise her in the gates, or among the elders of the legislature; in lieu of any voice in her own government they still refuse to give her of the fruit of her hands.)

There has been skepticism in an unbelieving generation as to the riches of Solomon, and comparisons to his disadvantage have been made with the money kings of to-day. But the riches of Solomon are easily understood when one reads this description of a virtuous woman and remembers that in addition to three hundred concubines, he was said to have seven hundred such virtuous wives. The higher criticism may rob Solomon of the authorship of the Proverbs or the possession of one thousand wives, but it cannot dispute the continued acceptance of this ideal of a virtuous woman of three thousand years ago. She is still allowed to rejoice in the fact that "virtue is its own reward."

This hypothetical paragon of Solomon would have been an economic dependent, legally subject to man, gaining spiritual ends by circumlocution and hypocrisy, as truly as her leisured and less mythical sisters of to-day. In the course of the ages it has become less necessary to pursue this Solomonic inquiry than to join the search of Diogenes. Woman

has been emancipated from most of these domestic obligations. With relief from them there have come increasing leisure, education, social activity, and industrial latitude, but as yet no relation between service and income.

In spite of these advances, which are almost exclusively modern, the majority of women remain economically dependent. A woman's intellectual and social possibilities are conditioned primarily by her husband's income. The million dollar wife married to the thousand dollar man may be uncommon, but less striking discrepancies to her disadvantage are usual. Even the wife of little capacity united to the man of wealth is unable to lead her normal life because she is usually regarded as a toy. The difficulty is not only that woman is dependent on man, nor that each woman is dependent on one man, but all of a woman's rich nature, the sum total of her personality, is dependent upon one man's income.

Men are paid a certain amount of money for specified labors. Wives have no claim upon any definite sum; they are dependent upon the

generosity of husbands. Happily this seems adequate in most cases. Indeed it is quite the custom among workingmen to turn over all the family revenue into the hands of the wife. Among educated people it is not uncommon to determine the disposition of the purse beforehand, that disposition to remain through life. But the husband is the treasurer, doling out the amount which may be at any time at his command or convenience, thereby controlling not only the economic but the spiritual life of his wife.

The expression of this subjection which is most degrading comes in the appeal which seems to be increasingly made, or receives increasing publicity in the United States—the appeal to the unwritten law. When man's choicest piece of property is violated, he avenges himself. The appeal to the unwritten law is the appeal to a law which he dare not put in the statute books, where nearly all the laws are concerned with property; where the unwritten law is most often appealed to, it is associated with the lowest depths of immor-

ality. Only in the most barbarous parts of the United States would a jury acquit a man for the murder of his wife or her lover, but anywhere a jealous brute may in a fit of passion commit murder. It is never, however, because of love for his wife. No man ever kills his wife for love. He may die for love or live for it; sometimes a woman kills herself for it, but she does not want that kind of defense from any man. Men, with their property instincts, have for the most part not yet learned that the inviolability of a woman's personality transcends in ethical importance that self esteem which the overman calls "honor." Even refined men who love the objects of their devotion, still often feel instinctively that they would under provocation take the law into their own hands, and use violence. But it is not an attribute of affection to do this, it is the property instinct which is stung.

However, there is a subtler expression of economic mastery in the men of to-day, the grandiloquent attitude of the courtly gentleman who says, "Are not the American women

the best, the most beautiful, the most versatile in the world? Have they not everything they want, and if there is anything they would like will we not give it to them?" Which may be paraphrased: We care not how much these American queens take or get, so long as they recognize the power behind the throne.

It would be unfair to say that most marriages are deliberately commercial, but most marriages will necessarily result in the dependence of woman until the equality of the sexes is recognized. As Havelock Ellis puts it, there is no hope for woman as long as she is looked upon "as a cross between an angel and an idiot." The age of chivalry has passed; woman is more respected and less worshipped, but she cannot lead her own life until she has an equal chance with man. Even the main function of woman and the chief end of marriage, maternity, which makes the female conservative, while the male is aggressive, cannot result ideally for offspring or parents, until the woman is granted the same control of her life as man enjoys. Edward Carpenter says: "No

effectual progress is possible until the question of her capacity for maternity is fairly faced—for healthy maternity involving thorough exercise and development of the body, a life more in the open air than at present—some amount of regular manual work, yet good opportunity for rest when needful, knowledge of the laws of health and physiology, widened mental training and economic independence."

We may learn the wisdom of requiring caution in assuming the responsibilities of marriage and thus multiply the examples of domestic bliss, but we cannot attain justice for women and children, nor the full benefit of sex differentiation, until women are given control of their incomes, and hence, their destinies. The wage-earning woman of to-day is in a superior position to command just treatment from her prospective spouse; and she brings to the marriage state a greater capacity for the management of the family income and a clearer estimate of man's worth; but there are still left the millions of women whose capacity is never tested, because whatever be their intel-

lectual, spiritual or social possibilities, they are the recipients of charity. The charity may be disguised by the love of a devoted husband, but they are still stunted by subservience to a patriarchal administration.

The entrance of woman into the actual economic struggle, while it must be granted to any individual woman who chooses it, seems undesirable for the race because of the value of the prolongation of infancy and the constant availability of a mother's care. A system of pensions for mothers might be devised, which would recognize their services to the state, and which in spite of possible pauperizing effects would be unquestionably superior to the disregard of woman's economic rights. The best proposal seems to have been made by Mr. H. G. Wells in demanding that upon marriage, and subsequently on the birth of each child, the father be required to take out an endowment insurance policy in the interest of wife and children.

What are some of the spiritual consequences of withholding the wages of wives? The great

majority of women have to marry; they have no alternative. Most of them, happily, wish to marry and many of them find appropriate husbands, but there is not sufficient opportunity for deliberate choice. The consequence is that quite innocently, having been trained from infancy to take the step, multitudes of women marry and live with men whom they do not love, whom they sometimes have never loved. It is a hard thought that this is legalized prostitution, and it need not carry the stigma which is often unjustly associated with professional prostitution. There can scarcely be a stigma when the victims are innocent. The fact remains and its moral consequences are unavoidable. It means that a woman has sold herself, although her early training and conventional morality may keep her pure in mind and otherwise blameless in conduct. There is no escape from the distorted view of life which this entails. But one of its inevitable consequences is the subjection of woman to the physical mastery of man in ways to which untutored woman resigns herself, but not without moral an-

guish which would be quite incomprehensible to the unsophisticated husband, who regards himself as wholly generous. If for no other reason, legalized remuneration for house-keeping, child-birth, and child-rearing is necessary, to remove the temptation of a virtuous woman to sell herself for life to one man. While escaping promiscuity, women still relinquish control over their own bodies.

Another spiritual result of economic dependence is even more conspicuous because ubiquitous. Woman's chief moral defect is her method of circumlocution, forced upon her by being compelled to make sex functions economic functions (as Mrs. Gilman has so forcibly stated in *Women and Economics*). Whether it is during the courting illusion, or in rifling her husband's pockets (which a sober American judge justifies), or in accomplishing benefits for him in subtle ways beyond his ponderous masculine comprehension, she is all the time perfecting the arts of hypocrisy. It is sufficiently serious that woman's character should bear this blemish without a premium

being put upon it by having it regarded as her chief charm. This method of indirection is becoming increasingly mischievous as the larger social opportunities to-day demand for their satisfactory performance political activity. Women being engaged in innumerable social labors, made possible by their advancing education and leisure, are now expected to perform many of these social obligations in spite of the constant difficulty of social reconstruction without political expression.

In this country this handicap is due of course, in part, to the confused conception of the state in the untrained political minds of men. So long as the state is considered a thing apart, political action will be differentiated from social action. Aside from this, woman's social labors are doubled by the expectation that she will either accomplish them by clumsy and laborious voluntary means, or persuade man to aid her through his exclusive political prerogatives.

The handicap on fellowship is another of the defects of economic dependence. There is

little camaraderie between men and women, even when married. This is partly temperamental (some people cannot be confidential with one another) but it is primarily due to the husband's having economic functions and the wife sex functions. The beginnings of marital unrest are found chiefly in the concealment of a man's thoughts, due to his conviction that the dependent domestic creature who shares his home has had no training to share his larger economic experiences. Keeping "business" from women is as rational as keeping fatherhood from men. The pains of motherhood it is true, cannot be shared by men, but they can exercise the complementary relationship of fathers. So women must be, at least, domestic economists and municipal housekeepers.

Even the problems of sex,—the right of a woman to control her life, the preparation of children for the revelation of the mysteries of life,—are discussed with less frankness because of the instinctive feeling of the economic master that new and unconvential modes of thinking disturb the social order. The consequences

of economic freedom, of which every man dreams, cannot be less for woman than for man. They would, in fact, be of mutual benefit. If man can be brought to see the undesirability of the power of man over woman, a power enjoyed by the possession of money, he may then labor to remove the power of money over man: "The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."

THE OVERTAXED CREDULITY OF NEWSPAPER READERS

CHAPTER VI

THE OVERTAXED CREDULITY OF NEWSPAPER READERS

EVERY boy thinks the town in which he is born and brought up is the best in the world. By loyal logic its people, its institutions, its newspapers, are "the first." In boyhood one does not analyze his own emotions; why should he be critical of the press? In later years it shocks us to find that our faith in the newspaper has been childlike and misplaced. We have grown up tolerant of its partisanship and ignorant of its economic function, but as our view of life becomes clearer we reluctantly open our eyes to the fact that the average newspaper regards the truth with absolute indifference.

The growth in size, numbers and power of the daily press in the last quarter century is

stupendous. Unfortunately the merits and defects have grown hand in hand. The modern American newspaper is remarkably skilful in the presentation of its printed matter. It has a good conception of current events. History in the making is recorded with such accuracy as rapidity of production (and editorial intelligence) will permit. The newspaper has been the first contemporary institution to grasp the significance of graphic methods; pictures, maps, charts, cartoons, are all used with great educational effect by the best newspapers. There is also a well developed appreciation of the spectacular, which is demanded to secure attention in these strenuous days. In cruder papers it may take the form of the exaggeration of sensations, but it is widely exemplified in the recognition given to festivals and anniversaries of great dates and names of history. The activities of distinguished contemporaries are recorded with a fulness which is remarkable in consideration of the pressure under which papers are edited and published. The organization of the material in the best newspapers

into various departments, often under expert editorial supervision, is an increasingly creditable performance. There are also some great special issues, such as the Saturday numbers of the New York *Evening Post* and the Boston *Transcript,* the New York *Times* Saturday Supplement, and the New Year's editions of the Chicago *Tribune* and Los Angeles *Times.*

The newspapers are big with matter, but, after the fashion of the fabled mountain, they bring forth periodically an insignificant amount of trustworthy information. The volume of print needed to balance the increasing amount of advertising is so great that, together with the speed of production, little discrimination is exercised in the choice of news. Editors are not alone in this slovenly practice. The American people are suffering from journalitis. The slate is wiped off and life begins anew every twenty-four hours. The reasoning faculties are precariously employed by the day; they have no permanent occupation. Instead of taking no thought for the morrow, we take thought only for the morrow. We do not take

time to think through subjects, but dismiss our half-baked thought to make way for new impressions. The pressure of business life keeps us keyed up to a tension to which the newspapers are expected to respond. The newspapers must be dated hours ahead to satisfy our thirst for the new, which is not necessarily the true thing. The difficulty is not merely that they stimulate superficial thought; we demand it. It is not possible to think clearly when we are in such a hurry. The newspaper cannot be accurate while it is printed so hastily; the Damocles sword hanging constantly over the head of the newspaper man is the fear of a scoop; but there are unfortunately additional reasons why it does not try to be accurate.

The newspaper is a business institution, not an organ of education, and it must be made to pay, whether the public taste and morals are debauched or not. One serious aspect of the capitalistic press is the presence of sweat-shop methods in the management of the plant. The staff of the newspaper are paid relatively less

for the amount of intelligence they are supposed to display than any other class, with the possible exception of teachers. Even the clergy are better paid on the average than newspaper men. The sweat-shop methods extend to the subordination of the individuality of the employee. Personality is a handicap, even the *nom de plume* is *passé;* the mark of the newspaper man is anonymity. Few newspaper men are free; there is more freedom in the pulpit and the college professor's chair than in the editorial sanctum. This also is because newspaper publication is a business,—a badly organized business,—representative of the incomplete organization of the business world today.

The influence of "the trust" (the Associated Press) limits the number of papers which can receive promptly the news of the world, while poor business methods result in the accidental multiplication of papers without regard to the needs of the community, so, that, for example, Pittsburgh has more papers than Chicago,

with the natural result that Pittsburgh has neither morning nor evening paper of influence or character.

Newspapers, although primarily business enterprises, are subject to minor influences and may be classified into personal, party, and corporation organs. This classification is not precise, as a paper may belong in two or even three classes, but the individuality of the paper is determined by the influence of a personality, a party, or a corporation. Even when a newspaper is intensely partisan or capitalistic, it may have a quality beyond that of other papers because of the dominance of a strong personality. Such personal papers, still surviving in this impersonal business age, are the Springfield *Republican,* the Brooklyn *Eagle,* the New York *Evening Post,* the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* the Kansas City *Star* and the Los Angeles *Times.* The reputability of these papers varies from the best in America to the worst, but each one has a strength due to the personality of its editor.

Except in the case of some rare independent papers, which are so in fact and not merely in name, most of the newspapers of the country are painfully partisan. This in all cases vitiates their influence. It is not even expected that papers shall tell the truth during a political campaign, or at any other time regarding their political opponents. While nearly all papers are subject to the advertiser, and especially truckle to the overman, there are many which are organs of the corporations and never, except through the accidental blundering of a reporter, attempt to tell the truth about these corporations and their allied interests.

Much of the condemnation which must be visited upon party and corporation bias is due to the unconscious predilections of the personality dominating the paper. What the radical papers call "the capitalistic press" may be explained on this basis. The owners, and even the editors, by social affiliation with capitalistic interests, are naturally and sincerely sympathetic with the interests of capital, right or

wrong. This extends to the coloring and even suppression of news by the Associated Press. Such instinctive sympathies do not account, however, for the pusillanimity of the New York papers in their relations to the theater trust, which *Life* so vigorously exposed, or the dastardly truculence to advertisers which *Collier's* is fighting, or the unscrupulous mendacity of corporation papers. On the other hand, too much notice must not be accorded the press for its well nigh unanimous opposition to a high tariff bill, regardless of party, when the enthusiasm for free wood pulp is remembered.

It is legitimate for personal, party, or corporation organs to defend their interests, provided it is done in the open, but the practice of distorting facts on behalf of these interests induces habitual lying. We have been hearing a great deal lately about Ananias, but his notoriety is generally misunderstood. He was not a good liar; a good liar lies with discrimination and effect. Lying was a secondary thought with Ananias. His offense consisted in withholding something unjustly, and then

lying about it. This is the situation in which the newspapers find themselves. This is why the newspapers habitually misrepresent. There is something to withhold from the public; dust must be thrown in their eyes, and lying becomes a habit. One can understand the San Francisco papers' lying about the bubonic plague or their street railway president, or the Chicago papers' reticence about the mayor or chief of police, but the habit extends to subjects where it can be of no object, and worse still, to the reckless defamation of character.

Statements which cannot have any possible basis in fact are copied by the papers throughout the country, even though the exaggerations be so great as to frustrate the intention which originally prompted the statement. Editors, in their eagerness for news, lose the capacity to identify the truth. Bryan's alleged play and histrionic ambitions were reported in all seriousness by a truth-blind press. The New Orleans papers guilelessly made asses of all the members of the Chamber of

Commerce by taking seriously the report that "Dixie" was to be tabu in a Chicago patriotic festival, a canard telegraphed all over the country. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* printed a series of definitions of socialism which it boldly attributed to Governor Folk. As it did not credit the item to any other paper, it must be held responsible for as foolish an aggregation of statements as has appeared in print. No one will be surprised that Governor Folk denied the authorship of the following:

FOLK DEFINES A SOCIALIST

Governor Folk of Missouri at one of his Chautauqua addresses recently was requested by an inquisitor to define a "Socialist." "That is easy," replied the Governor. "But half a dozen definitions are more expressive than one:

"A Socialist is the one who loses in the competitive race for luxurious existence.

"A Socialist is the dreamer among practical men.

"A Socialist is the man unable to rise to his selected ambition and as a result determines to destroy it.

"A Socialist, generally speaking, is an antitheist always willing to embrace the ignorant foreigner, for in

the foreigner only can he instill the Czolgosz-Averbuch ideals.

"A Socialist, to be brief, is simply the unmentionable, the unpermittable, and the impossible."

Quite a little amusement was created by the New York *Times'* publication of the so-called Cleveland article, supporting Taft in the 1908 campaign. No ordinarily intelligent person thought for a moment that Cleveland had written it, but the paper which prints "all the news that's fit to print," was undoubtedly sincere in its acceptance of the authorship, as were a great many thoughtless people and papers. The inspired columns sent out daily from Washington by the party in power are puerile in their ingenuousness. One wonders whether there are people allowed to be at large who can be deceived by these reports. Yet it was thought necessary to issue a denial of the dispatches which announced Roosevelt's endorsement of Taft, although an intelligent reading of the originals found this support only in the headlines. The text showed that letters received by the administration leaders

contained no specific criticism of the President by the ex-President, a praise so damning it would seem desirable to suppress rather than circulate it, were the papers less naïve.

The subordination of the newspaperman's mind to his employer accounts for his dread of originality. Mr. Will Irwin makes the awful confession that the New York *Sun* is the newspaperman's newspaper. The *Sun* is often clever, sometimes brilliant, always flippant, seldom sincere, and, in this generation, never original. It is *sui generis,* but it has a method which precludes new talent's expressing anything really virile. Yet it is the acknowledged guide of the ambitious newspaper man! The newspaper world worships the god of things as they were. It is eager to give us the latest news about things as they are said to be, even to manufacturing it, but it has an extreme repugnance to serious discussion of things as they ought to be. Anything the newspaper cannot understand must be folly. From the point of view of conventional newspaperdom any suggestion of eco-

nomic reform is "socialism," fundamental political reforms are "anarchism;" any proposal for the reform of domestic relations is "free love;" religious reform is "atheism;" educational reform is "a fad;" moral reform is "pessimism."

The result of this attitude is the hypocritical maintenance of a negative, colorless, bourgeois morality.

Any discussion of the sex question, not contained in the shorter catechism, is a "sacred cow," the newspaper editor's pet superstition. The daily newspapers reviled Gorky without knowing anything about him, although the reputable weeklies defended him. Perhaps it was this excessive virtue that concealed the relation between protected brothels and the police in New York and Chicago until the socialistic press revealed what the capitalistic papers had refused to print. A press notice said of a social purity congress, attended by the sternest friends of sex morality, that its discussions were not fit for publication. These pious ejaculations will be found in the

same issue with page after page of obscenity and scurrility. The same attitude prevails toward anything fundamental that is not part of current gossip, which accounts for the ignorance of sociology and theology.

The Biblical World, in its October (1909) number, took the ground that the "ethical questions of today can not be decided solely by appeal to the Bible regarded as a compendium of ethics, but must be met on the one hand by a historical study of the Bible, and on the other by a similar study of present day conditions." It reported the result in a subsequent number: "The ink was scarcely dry on our pages before there appeared in the daily press reports of this article under such headings as the following: 'Warns Church against Bible as Moral Guide'; 'Calls Bible useful only as History,' 'Bible not Ethical, Thirteen Professors Say,' (there being thirteen names in our list of editors); 'Attacks Ethics of Bible—Says it Ignores Vital Issues —Polygamy, Wine Feasts, and Vengeance are Given Biblical Sanction, He Says.' Dis-

tance and telegraphic transmission but increased the distortions. 'Bible Ethics Bad; Chicago University Publication has Startling Editorial. Frank Higher Criticism'; 'Bible Morals condemned; University Magazine Says it Teaches Bad Conduct'; 'Sensational Attack on Bible Stirs University,' were some of the headlines under which the news was spread abroad."

The failure to balance nicely the merits of questions in the interest of truth leads to denunciation of original or novel propositions, instead of refutation. The average newspaper is more gifted in epithets than arguments. So rare is unflinching devotion to facts that when a paper starts out to be exceptionally clean and truthful it may lean over backwards, as the *Christian Science Monitor* does. While this attempts to be the most genuine daily paper published in Boston now, it does deliberately, in the interest of the faith it represents, suppress news of deaths and accidents.

An attempt might be made to estimate the

extent of fearless devotion to the truth presented by the daily press. The majority of newspapers are of local influence only and although immensely important collectively, not only do not directly affect national life, but are too numerous and commonplace to permit any individual to risk a comparative statement. Even in the first-class cities (population over 100,000) most of the papers are inconsequential and their general influence must be measured by typical instances, the selection being made on the basis of the conspicuous merit or defect of a paper. Some excellent papers will not be mentioned because they appear in small cities, other well known papers may be omitted because they lack distinctive qualities. If any papers seem invidiously characterized, they at least receive the tribute of acknowledged importance. Employing descriptive terms, suggested by the popular use of "yellow," the spectrum of *typical daily papers* of the United States, passed through the prism of truth, may be said to emerge as follows:

WHITE (clear and clean)
Springfield *Republican*
Kansas City *Star*
GRAY (when in doubt, tell the truth)
Portland *Oregonian*
Indianapolis *News*
New York *Times*
COLORLESS (anaemic)
Philadelphia *Public Ledger*
Chicago *Evening Post*
YELLOW (lemon, touched with gold)
Hearst's papers
New York *World*
Chicago *Tribune*
GREEN (never set anything on fire)
St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Buffalo, San Francisco, Detroit, Washington, Twin-City papers.
INDIGO (blue-stocking temperament)
New York *Evening Post*
Boston *Transcript*
"A DASH OF VIOLET"
Louisville *Courier-Journal*
RED (inflamed, not luminous)
New York *Sun*
BLACK (but not opaque)
Los Angeles *Times*
Cincinnati *Enquirer*

These typical instances represent every range of devotion to the truth from the serious endeavor to tell the truth all the time to the utterly unscrupulous disregard of truth all the time.

Democracy has an uphill fight in America at present, since untrammeled organs of free speech are generally wanting. Newspapers continue to be patronized and believed because they reflect the methods which temporarily bring what is called success. They meet the needs of the overman and the overman's friends, while they lack intelligent criticism from the public which is being gulled. They are cunning, but not clever; detailed, but not exact; prudish, but not refined; partisan, but not patriotic; flippant, but not humorous; persistent, but not vigilant; captious, but not critical; blasé, but not sophisticated; sensitive, but not honorable; conventional, but not ethical; emphatic, but not true.

Yet the constant courage of a few daily papers, the fearless devotion to the truth of

some monthly magazines, and the multiplication of sterling, vigorous weeklies keep alive the hope that as the public grows more deserving and exacting, public utilities come under public control, publicity is demanded of business, and libel laws are made more rigorous, the daily papers will yet be the medium for achieving the ideal, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

THE OVERWORKED POLITICAL PLATITUDES

CHAPTER VII

THE OVERWORKED POLITICAL PLATITUDES [1]

THE people are beginning to see, through the dust of party strife, that the art and science of government are concealed by party labels and watchwords. Not many know that "Republican" and "Democrat" are synonymous with tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee, but more are demanding that the administration of the common life be no longer obscured by the ambiguity of platforms and the personality of candidates.

Yet the clever politician continues to sidetrack the patriotic citizen.

The encouragement which has come most recently from the rebuke of political rings by men whose nomination had been demanded by

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[1] Published in the New York Sunday *Times*, October 4, 1908.

the people, as was the case in the choice of both Taft and Bryan, is marred by the surrender to the ring in the choice of vice-presidential candidates and platform planks. Party shibboleths continue to mislead; party loyalty injures patriotism; hysterical citizens see in the opposing candidates only demon and demigod, but more nearly than ever before there emerges from the smoke of conflict a vision of the meaning of a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is not presented consciously by either candidate, it is only casually indicated in those principles which each party considers paramount, but it is better defined.

Observation of the party conventions reveals a people in their quadrennial spectacle of receiving uncomplainingly a stone when they have rather incoherently asked for bread.

A study of the platforms does not betray any striking issue between the parties. We look in vain for any adequate treatment of the most vital interests of the masses of the people; the few principles which are peculiar to either

party seem insipid by contrast with the really insistent needs of the multitude.

Both parties miraculously discover the existence of *natural resources* on the continent, in the year of Our Lord, 1908.

Democratic Platform

"We urge the irrigation of arid lands, the reclamation of swamp lands, the clarification of streams, the development of water power, and the preservation of electric power generated by this natural force from the control of monopoly, and, to such end, we urge the exercise of all powers, national, state, and municipal, both separately and in co-operation, also the plan for improving every water course in the union, which is justified by the needs of commerce; and to secure that end, we favor, *when practicable* (sic!) the connection of the Great Lakes with the navigable rivers and with the gulf through the Mississippi river, and the navigable rivers with each other."

Republican Platform

"We indorse the movement inaugurated by the administration for the conservation of natural resources; we approve all measures to prevent the waste of timber; we commend the work now going on for the reclamation of arid lands, and reaffirm the Republican policy of the free distribution of the available areas of the public domain to the landless settler."

By a remarkable coincidence the toiling masses are to be relieved by

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY

"We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law by Congress, as far as the federal jurisdiction extends, for a general employers' liability act, covering injury to body or loss of life of employees."

"The enactment in constitutional form at the present session of Congress of the employers' liability law; the passage and enforcement of the safety appliance statutes, as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen; the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers; the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between interstate railroads and their employees, and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employees of the government are among the most commendable accomplishments."

Having found that the real rulers of the nation are not engaged in predatory occupations for their health, it is deemed expedient to advocate

HEALTH REFORMS

"We advocate the organization of all existing public health agencies into a national bureau of public health, with such power over sanitary conditions connected with factories, mines, tenements, child labor and other such subjects as are properly within the jurisdiction of the federal government."

"We commend the efforts designed to secure greater efficiency in national public health agencies and favor such legislation as will effect this purpose."

The free trade and paternalistic parties unite again on the

TARIFF

"We welcome the belated promise of tariff reform now affected by the Republican party in tardy recognition of the righteousness of the Democratic position on this question; but the people cannot safely entrust the execution of this important work to a party which is so deeply obligated to the highly protected interests as is the Republican party. We call attention to the significant fact

"We favor the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discrimination by foreign countries."

that the promised relief was postponed until after the coming election—an election to succeed in which the Republican party must have that same high protective tariff as it has always heretofore received from them; and to the further fact that during years of uninterrupted power, no action whatever has been taken by the Republican congress to correct the admittedly existing tariff iniquities."

Neither party holding any intelligent or courageous views on banking, they tentatively compromise on

THE POSTAL SAVINGS BANK

"We pledge ourselves to legislation under which the national banks shall be required to establish a guarantee fund for the prompt payment of the depositors of any insolvent national bank under an equitable system which shall be available to all state banking institutions wishing to use it. We favor a postal savings bank system for the convenience of the people and the encouragement of thrift."

tal savings bank if the guaranteed bank cannot be secured and that it be constituted so as to keep the deposited money in the communities where it is established. But we condemn the policy of the Republican party in proposing postal savings banks under a plan of conduct by which those will aggregate the deposits of the same, while under government charge, in the banks of Wall street."

The simple minded Jeffersonian democrats vie with the party of the " big stick " in advocating an extravagant and demoralizing

NAVY

"The constitutional provision that a navy shall be provided and maintained means an adequate navy, and we believe that the interests of this country would be best served by having a navy sufficient to defend the coasts of this country and protect American citizens wherever

"Although at peace with all the world and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not provoke war with any other country, we nevertheless declare our unalterable devotion to a policy that will keep this republic ready at all times to defend her tra-

their rights may be in jeopardy."

ditional doctrines and assure her appropriate part in promoting permanent tranquillity among the nations."

This will be especially useful for the

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS

engaged in questionable occupations in Venezuela and other *little* countries.

"We pledge our services to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper methods to secure protection for them, whether native born or naturalized."

"We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens."

The parties having surrendered their conventions to notorious spoilsmen, perjure themselves by professing devotion to

CIVIL SERVICE

"The laws pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promo-

"We affirm our declaration that the civil service laws enacted, extended, and enforced by the Republican party shall continue to be maintained and obeyed."

tion rather than services rendered to a political party."

The prospect of grateful support in the Senate and the House prompts each party to extend a welcoming hand to

NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA

"The national Democratic party has for the last sixteen years labored for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate states of the federal union, and recognizing that each possesses every qualification to successfully maintain separate state government we favor the immediate admission of these territories as separate states."

"We favor the immediate admission of the territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate States of the Union."

The Republican platform is actually distinguished from its rival's by some familiar platitudes, the absence of which would reflect discredit on the Democrats, were the Republican professions sincere. A bureau of mines, the enforcement of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth *(sic!)* amendments to the Con-

stitution and generosity to the old soldier are among others. Is there no positive message from either camp? Is no larger life to emerge from our great industrial civilization?

Industrial evolution proceeding by giant strides cannot wait for party platforms. The Constitution is stretched beyond the dreams of the fathers to meet economic needs which could not have been known to them, while the majority of the people still take the appearance for the substance. A brief resumé of the fundamentals of American government is necessary to see how empty are the phrases hurled by Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan at each other, without edification or entertainment of the apathetic public, giving Mr. Hearst the monopoly of picturesqueness.

The American system of government provides for an executive organization consisting of President, Vice-President and Cabinet, without voice, presence or any other than indirect influence in the shaping of legislation, except by presidential veto. In fact the separation of the executive from the legislative is

the cardinal principle of American government and one of the chief causes of its inefficiency. To exert an influence which will initiate policies, the president must employ the familiar feminine method of circumlocution, imposed upon woman by the denial of her rights, and the consequent development of her skill in hypocrisy. The President must wheedle and cajole, pull and push to secure progress, and the type of man who can win the office seldom cares for progress.

The Cabinet officers may, without disrespect, be characterized in the language of the street as the president's "push." Their executive functions in the service of the people are quite secondary to their importance in the strengthening of the party. It is unusual for a member of the cabinet to exhibit any evidence of improvement in his department, and on such rare occasions he is usually met with unsparing condemnation by his party, as when Mr. John Wanamaker gave the only good administration of the Post-Office Department in this generation. "It is not so nominated in the

bond," but it has become the function of the cabinet to shine in the society of the capital and serve as pawns for the political moves in the affairs of the party.

The Vice-President is the negative pole in the executive battery. His main function is to secure the election of the President by exerting influence in a doubtful state. In spite of being the only executive who sits in a legislative body, which might be supposed to give him almost the position of a prime minister, he is not supposed to have a personality or opinions: in fact, these are usually sufficient to preclude nomination. When a party is forced into the unfortunate position of being compelled to nominate a live man for the vice-presidency, it is regarded as so serious a calamity that both parties unite in a zealous endeavor to prevent its repetition. The nomination of Roosevelt to this office was a blunder from which the old Republican party will never recover, and for which it is now paying the penalty of disaffection and discord. So far from encouraging the opposition party, this revolu-

tion in American politics was emphasized and rebuked by the choice in the succeeding campaign of a senile superannuate by the Democratic party, and not to be outdone, the Republican party, moved by similar monetary influence, chose the mollycoddle of buttermilk fame. The precedents having been reestablished it is natural that, though popular clamor and presidential pressure had been satisfied in the nomination of Mr. Taft, a candidate more to the liking of Cannon, Aldrich, and their ilk should have been selected for the vice-presidency. Not to be eclipsed by the Alphonses of the Republican party, the Gastons of the Democratic organization reverted to the stamp of Taggart and Sullivan in the choice of a vice-presidential candidate, disregarding the advice of public servants like Tom Johnson, as the Republicans ignored the little patriotic coterie led by LaFollette.

A leadership of the people, which is attained by the executive only by circumventing the intent of the Constitution, is denied to the popular body of the legislature in various ways.

The strict separation of legislative and executive functions, the check imposed through the Senate, followed by the possible check of the President's veto, culminates in the interpretation of the Supreme Court. A Constitution is said to grow not to be made, but the United States Constitution grows only like a potato in a cellar. In order to secure the accomplishment of anything and prevent the unnecessary delay of public business, it has thus become necessary for the Speaker of the House to aggrandize his office, as has the President. A House which is supposed to represent the voice of the people, as against the traditions of the States embodied in the Senate, has therefore been assailed from within as well as from without. What is lacking in the House is naturally not supplied in the Senate. If the House has failed as the popular branch, the Senate has succeeded in being the unpopular body. The play of party rivalry not only prevents the Senate from being representative of public interests, but prostitutes the State legislatures, which now exist primarily for the

choice of these unrepresentative senators. The difficulty of the popular control by Congress of both the legislative and executive departments of government is increased by the necessity of referring laws to the decision of the Supreme Court to determine their constitutionality and, finally, by the restraining influence of the principles embodied in the Constitution.

Whatever may be said in favor of a written Constitution (interpreted by a Supreme Court) providing two houses of Congress to maintain the parity of representation between the people and the States, and an independent executive with the power of veto, it must be admitted that it is difficult for this system to register accurately the will of the people. Mr. Elihu Root, criticising Mr. Bryan and the Democratic platform, said: "Do not the people rule? This is a representative government. It surely is not proposed to do away with representation and have 85,000,000 of people make and execute their laws directly, without

the intervention of legislative and executive agents. Are not the laws being made and executed by the agents whom the people have selected for that purpose? I find that by the lawful returns of the last presidential election Theodore Roosevelt received 2,541,296 more votes for the presidency than Alton B. Parker. Has he not a good title to the office? Are not the people ruling through him, their chosen executive, so far as his part in the government is concerned? Has not every congressional district been represented in Congress by the man whom a majority of its voters selected? Is not every State represented in the Senate by Senators chosen by its own Legislature, selected by the people of the State for the performance of that very duty?"

Mr. Root represents that body of complacent optimists who take majority rule for granted, without examining the facts. Mr. Hughes, in 1906, was elected Governor of New York State by thirty per cent. of the males of voting age, or nine per cent. of the population; Governor Guild of Massachusetts

was elected in 1907 by twenty-five per cent. of the males of voting age, although he received seventy-two per cent. of the votes; President Roosevelt was elected by thirty-five per cent. of the males of voting age, or ten per cent. of the population. It is not only a small proportion of the adult population which determines the people's representatives, but almost invariably a minority of the voting males.

The trouble with the present system is that it is clumsy. It was designed as a protest against monarchy and aristocracy, when the belief naturally prevailed that the best government was that which governed least. It was the result of the compromise of different kinds of men representing thirteen inharmonious colonies, most of whom did not believe the American people had the capacity for self-government. With the pressure of public business and the increase in popular enlightenment, it has become necessary to get things done. In order to accomplish this, under existing conditions, the president and the speaker of the house must be autocratic, with the result

that popular government becomes accidental. With a William McKinley in the chair nothing of importance is accomplished; with a Joseph Cannon most of the actions are mischievous; with a Theodore Roosevelt fortunately the preponderance of influence is favorable; but the accomplishments of the last two, for good or ill, are the result of the arbitrary use of power which must soon be vested in authoritative, but popularly controlled hands.

President Roosevelt, naïvely blending the executive and legislative, credits the last administration with: "The creation of the department of commerce and labor, together with the creation of a bureau of corporations, which marks the beginning of federal control over the large corporations doing an interstate business, the employers' liability law, the safety appliance law, the law limiting the working hours of railway employees, the meat inspection law, the denatured alcohol law, the anti-rebate law, the laws increasing the powers of the department of justice in dealing with

those, regardless of wealth and power, who infract the law, the law making the government liable for injuries to its employees, the laws under which the Panama canal was acquired and is being built, the Philippines administered, and the navy developed, the laws creating a permanent census bureau and reforming the consular service and the system of naturalization, the law forbidding child labor in the District of Columbia, the law providing a commission under which our currency system can be put on a thoroughly satisfactory basis, the laws for the proper administration of the forest service, the laws for the admission of Oklahoma and the development of Alaska, the great appropriations for the development of agriculture, the legal prohibition of campaign contributions from corporations—all these represent but a portion of what has been done by Congress, and form a record of substantial legislative achievement in harmony with the best and most progressive thought of our own people."

The chief result of the Roosevelt adminis-

tration is that supporters, opponents and the apathetic have been compelled to sit up and take notice. The bad is inextricably mixed with the good; the President has been at one time prophetic, at another muddle-headed, but meanwhile "the world do move." The consequence is that not only has there been a greater volume of progressive and aggressive legislation than in several previous decades, but it has been accomplished by appeals to public opinion, frequently in disregard of party. As Mr. Root said in speaking of the Hughes and Roosevelt administrations:

"There have been two special and notable characteristics in which these two administrations have been alike. One is that they have both gone directly to the people of the country, to the great body of the electors themselves."

The intelligent and patriotic American who is watching the evolution of American institutions and sees how the administration of the common life compels modified executive and legislative action must be astounded at the audacious corollary with which Mr. Root blandly

follows this admission of the power of public opinion when he says: "We can turn to the administrations now drawing to a close, both in the State and in the Nation, and with confidence ask every American voter to say whether they have not met all the great fundamental requisites of good government, whether they do not justify the belief that it is best for the country to keep in power the *party* [!] which is responsible for them and is entitled to the credit of them."

It is not remarkable that Mr. Taft, upon whom the mantle of the President is supposed to have fallen, should make a similar claim for the Republican party, which as a party has antagonized almost every progressive move made by this President, who became its leader by accident. If it were not for the popular acquiescence of the unthinking, one might expect a universal protest against Mr. Taft's sublime presumption when he says: "If ever a *party* earned the verdict of well done by the record of the last seven years, and the reward of a renewed mandate of power, it

is the Republican party under Theodore Roosevelt."

No one doubts Mr. Roosevelt's intention of conferring the mantle of Elijah upon his ponderous understudy, but a rival claim was presented by Mr. Bryan who said that he endorsed the President's policies but did not need to be the legatee of the mantle, as it was filched from him. Mr. Roosevelt is not Elijah but Elisha, and Mr. Taft, like Dowie, Elijah II. It is not a purely partisan quibble whether Mr. Bryan or Mr. Roosevelt has stolen the other's thunder. Mr. Roosevelt had the opportunity which Mr. Bryan lacked. We cannot know what Mr. Bryan would have done, or would do, but we know that what Mr. Roosevelt did was eagerly endorsed by those ambitious to be his successors. "My policies" may be right or wrong, desirable or undesirable, but it is too late to return to the pusillanimous policies of the time-serving McKinley.

What have we a right to expect of the promises of the Republican and Democratic leaders? Each was chosen by his party as the

sole candidate to succeed the strenuous executive, against the opposition of the party ringleaders. Having received the nomination without compromise, each relaxed his stern political idealism and allowed the nomination of an unworthy running mate, subservient to the worst element of his party. Each permitted the dictation of the platform by the opponents of popular welfare. Each is compelled to stand upon an emasculated platform to which he must sacrifice his independence. Neither Mr. Taft nor Mr. Bryan has indicated since nomination that any principle is at stake except that of office holding.

Mr. Taft effected a compromise in Ohio with the senior senator; Mr. Bryan tolerated as treasurer of his party the governor of Oklahoma, neither of whom needed a Hearst to reveal his character to the well informed and upright citizen. Mr. Taft made terms with the boss of Cincinnati, whom he had personally driven from power; Mr. Bryan surrendered to the boss of Illinois, whom he had uncompromisingly and spectacularly fought. Mr.

Taft denied himself the assistance of the courageous little Senator from Wisconsin and accepted the dictation of the foul-mouthed Speaker of the House. Mr. Bryan permitted the suppression of Cleveland's public spirited mayor and joined hands with the chief gambler of Indiana. Neither can claim the mantle of Elijah, worn though it may be by peculiar prophetic services.

Mr. Taft is the apostle of the obvious, Mr. Bryan is the prophet of the dubious.

The issues before the American people are so numerous and momentous that all the time of each candidate might have been occupied in outlining constructive policies, had he not been restrained by fear or ignorance. In spite of the good fortune for the country that each candidate bears an irreproachable character, there must be reflection on either intellectual or moral capacity in the failure or inability to grapple with the fundamental social problems. The respected public servant and the idolized popular prophet are both sacrificed to the interests which control parties. The coun-

try still waits for a clear-headed, constructive statesman.

Public pressure has forced some encouraging advances. The public conscience is becoming tender. Not only was Mr. Foraker compelled to abstain from public appearance on behalf of the Republican candidate, but even General Du Pont, at whom only insinuations were directed, found it expedient to withdraw from the Republican committee. These are very different days from those in which McKinley was managed by Mark Hanna and no objection came from within the party lines to his dictatorship, although he was more boldly the representative of corporate interests than the men who have felt it necessary to withdraw from the party counsels in this last campaign. Similarly the treasurer of the Democratic party felt it necessary to resign, although protesting his innocence of the charges brought against him. The atmosphere must be different from that which Richard Croker and others of his stripe breathed so freely in former campaigns.

It is evident that public opinion has changed also regarding the supremacy of the state over the corporations created by it. In fact Senator Beveridge in campaigning for Taft said: "We declare that no power in the nation shall be greater than the nation; that no corporation created to serve the people shall be above the people."

That conservative of conservatives, Mr. Root, said:

"Never anywhere in the long history of mankind's struggles for better conditions has there been among so many millions of people so great a diffusion of wealth, such universal comfort of living, such ready rewards for industry and enterprise, such unlimited opportunities for education and individual advancement and such independence and dignity of manhood as in our country now. Government did not make these conditions, but they would have been impossible without wise and good government, and wise and good government is necessary to their continuance."

Mr. Olney admitted, "that in respect to the radical policies referred to and generally

though indefinitely designated as socialistic, both parties are tarred with the same stick."

The cat is out of the bag! The Democrats may attempt to rivet the attention of the people on the maintenance of ancient states' rights rather than the performance of public business; the Republicans may fall back on the imperative need of long neglected tariff reform, to the disregard of the administration of the common life; but the people are beginning to see that local home rule is not synonymous with states' rights, and that tariff revision is not the issue between the parties. The real issue is how to get things done. It is not possible to perform increasing public business and avoid the imputation of socialism by the designing and unfriendly.

A plank in the Republican platform expressly charges the Democratic party with being the representative of these revolutionary tendencies. Mr. Bryan retaliates by saying:

"The Republican party is loud in its denunciation of socialism, but it is constantly feeding and augmenting

the socialistic spirit; it permits abuses which cast an odium upon individualism and furnish an argument to socialists. It cultivates the industries instead of cultivating industrial independence and a spirit of self-reliance. In its latest national platform, it boldly declares that reasonable profits should be guaranteed to the protected industries. It defends the principle of monopoly on the theory that competition is hurtful. In taking this position it supports the main contention of the socialists. Mr. Taft, the Republican candidate, in the speech announcing his candidacy, advocated such an amendment of the anti-trust law as would make it apply only to unreasonable restraint of trade. This idea, that reasonable restraint of trade is unobjectionable, is the entering wedge—it is the first step toward the annihilation of the principle of competition.

"The Democratic party has been called a socialistic party and I have been denounced as a socialist. I contend that the Republican party, not the Democratic party, is aiding the Socialist party; and this is evident from the fact that the socialist leaders prefer the Republican success to Democratic success. They fear that Democratic reforms will retard socialism and they believe that Republican abuse can be used to arouse opposition to the entire competitive system. The Democratic party would argue with the socialist, while the Republican party denounces him, but the Democratic party would remove the spirit of unrest and discontent

by eliminating the abuses that are the foundation of unrest and discontent."

Why this fear of a name! Mr. Taft said (before the campaign, of course):

"Under a representative form of government the interests of any particular set of people are more likely to be advanced when represented by one of themselves than by one of another class, no matter how altruistic."

All the Republican leaders have been at pains to defend the billion dollar Congress and the multiplication of officeholders, on the ground of work performed. The fact is here—the name for it is being evaded. The exigencies of public life have forced an enlargement of the state. It is still possible to control this in the interest of officeholders and privileged corporations, but all the ills threatened with the advent of socialism, are fewer than those which will inevitably result on the undemocratic, paternalistic enlargement of the state. The people do not rule, despite the violent claims of Mr. Taft, Mr. Sherman and

Mr. Root, nor has Mr. Bryan the right to ask that they should rule, since he has abandoned his program of initiative and referendum.

In spite of these socialistic tendencies forced upon the government and unwillingly admitted in fragmentary form in the platforms, the lack of clear headed statesmanship causes a neglect of the most urgent problems. Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan both claim to favor extending the franchise to woman, but it is not a campaign issue! Both profess great friendliness to the negro, but the Republican party dodges the readjustment of representation in the Southern States; while Mr. Bryan dare not take advantage of the negro revolt because the most loyal supporters of his party are the chief enemies of the negro. While a prohibition wave is sweeping the country, what has either party to say about the regulation of alcohol? Prohibition, local option, high or low license, the Sunday saloon, the domination of the liquor interests are all skillfully evaded.

There is much talk of the tariff. Although the Republicans have up to the present moment

done nothing for organic reform, they claim to have all the necessary wisdom for revision now, while the Democratic party, which lost its opportunity in two preceding administrations, passes over other crying evils and obliterates its previous watchwords to emphasize its traditional antipathy to the tariff. Meanwhile what becomes of a scientific system of taxation? The Democratic party reiterates its belief in an income tax, but who shall take the lead in the abolition of the pernicious American methods of indirect taxation, in favor of a just and fruitful absorption of the unearned increment? Where is the voice in opposition to militarism? Mr. Roosevelt's "big stick" finds its chief support in the loud-mouthed Democrat, Hobson. Both platforms express their devotion to a burdensome navy, but where shall one find in platform principles or the utterances of the candidates a word for the unemployed?

Honorary membership in unions ought not to delude the thoughtful workingman when he finds nothing in or on the platform regard-

ing the care and training of the unemployed; the compulsory education of the workingman's children; the distribution of immigration so as to prevent the congestion of the inferior, unskilled labor at the great industrial centers; old age pensions (already secured in those countries which are the chief industrial competitors of the United States); accident insurance, and other extensions of the employers' liability law (which each platform effusively demands); shorter hours of labor, a Saturday half-holiday, or any other means of making life richer by well ordered industry.

The people are, of course, concerned as to the rescue of the House of Representatives from the grip of the Speaker, the popular election of Senators, the apportionment of the functions of government to the nation and the states, and all the other questions of administration. They are not oblivious to the question of bank deposits, tariff reform, the multiplication of officeholders, and the expense of the government; but they are primarily concerned in getting things done—no matter how

great may be the extension of governmental functions to accomplish this end. They are tired of epithets and promises, negative criticisms, and historical reminiscences. They are apparently not yet prepared in large numbers to fight for principle, or to refuse to vote for either of the conspicuous candidates, or to ignore the presidential office and reform congress. There will be many quadrennials before the people, through their just and lawful asking, receive a full loaf, but a half-loaf is better than stones, and the chief fruits of this campaign should be the recognition of the emptiness of political platitudes and a clearer demand for constructive statesmanship.

THE OVERLOOKED CHARTERS OF CITIES

CHAPTER VIII

THE OVERLOOKED CHARTERS OF CITIES

THE government of the United States of America is handicapped by a written Constitution, the fundamental principle of which is the separation of legislative and executive functions. This historic document, composed by painful compromise for the service of the primitive society of the thirteen original states in the eighteenth century, has been too inelastic to permit the adaptation of political institutions to the needs of the twentieth century. It is now in process of breaking down, through inability to support the weight of a complex industrial society.[1]

The hope of American politics lies in the evolution of municipal government. The

[1] See J. Allen Smith, *The Spirit of American Government* (Macmillan).

rapid increase of urban populations was not anticipated by the framers of the American Constitution. There has consequently been a constant experimentation in charter-making, with predominantly futile results. In course of time, however, the simple principle has emerged, that the charter should be adapted to the functions of the city, and from this principle there may be deduced the analogy that the government of state and nation must be functional, rather than arbitrary or historic. The cities which have suffered because no provision was made originally for their government may be the saviors of the nation, through the dynamic of experience.

There are now a hundred cities in the United States larger than any city was at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The combined population of three cities—New York, Chicago and Philadelphia—is nearly three times as great as the entire population of the United States in 1789. The American colonies were essentially rural, but the United States has be-

come increasingly urban. In 1840, eight per cent. of the population lived in cities; in 1860, sixteen per cent. were urban; in 1900, thirty-three per cent. More than a third of the population, numbering in all thirty millions, live under the unsystematized, badly administered, municipal governments.

The most distinguished interpreter of contemporary American politics, Ambassador James Bryce, said in his "American Commonwealth" in 1889, that the American municipality was the one failure in the governmental system. In these latter days he has happily modified his statement, for it is in no sense true today. The American municipality is badly governed, but no worse than the state or the nation, and the hope of the future is to be found in the enthusiasm and higher moral standard aroused by recent experiments in city government. Valuable as contemporary experiments are proving, it must be admitted that most of the endeavors of the last century and a quarter have borne only evil.

The first consequence of establishing the

government of a new country on the principle of a written constitution which made no provision for the administration of cities, was that the constant crudity of citizenship expressed itself in a chaos of charters. Whenever a municipal government has proved ineffective, enthusiastic municipal reformers have begun tinkering with the charter, without any well-devised political philosophy, and without trying to make the existing charter more effective.

The original plan of municipal government, borrowed from the mother country, was the simple one of a council, a central, representative, all-powerful body, unencumbered by any checks or vetoes such as make national and state governments ineffectual. This council, called "selectmen"—or by some other designation in different parts of the country—retained its integrity only a little while, when its service proved unsatisfactory. The first modification suggested was the addition of a mayor, with minor executive functions, but with the power of veto over legislation. There was thus introduced what was regarded as a corrective

force for the impulsiveness or inadequacy of the councilmen, but it proved to be the first of the destructive forces, making city government increasingly ineffectual. The mayor, first chosen by the council, was subsequently elected by the people; and this system of divided authority remains characteristic of most of the cities in America.

The next step in the modification of the simple council also followed the analogy of the national and state governments, many cities dividing their legislative body into a select and a common council. Legislation was thus retarded and made more difficult, a process which has resulted in the course of time in hindering good legislation rather than bad. Fortunately, the practice has not become universal, and the majority of the cities still retain the single council. Whichever method was adopted, dissatisfaction increased, and further modifications were made by the appointment of boards or commissions, sometimes by the council, sometimes by the mayor, sometimes elected directly by the people, and, at times, appointed

by the governor. Accompanying this tendency to diffuse responsibility was the usual "democratic" demand for the popular election of as many officials as possible, on the supposition that the people thus secured better control.

The consequence of all these steps has been divided responsibility. Occasionally a commission has been needed as an emergency measure, and has temporarily proved more efficient only to result in permanent disaster because of the reliance placed upon it instead of upon the tedious process of educating the citizen for self-government. The natural result of all these complicated changes is to put an increasing amount of power in the party organizations, to develop a system of political bosses, concerned for patronage on the one hand and for the support of the national party at the expense of local interests on the other. The people have become bewildered and discouraged, and in some instances it has been possible for the state legislatures to pass what are known as "ripper bills," taking from the peo-

ple not only the right of self-government, but even the officials they have chosen.

This unintelligent groping for governmental reforms would have been adequate to secure municipal inefficiency; but to this has been added increasingly the activity of the aggressive private corporation, taking advantage of civic apathy. The business talent will always rule a community; if it cannot be induced to serve in official position and to subordinate private to public interest, it will, nevertheless, rule indirectly. The foundations of politics, as of all the rest of social life, are necessarily economic, and the overman dominates the American community to his own advantage, without participating, as a rule, directly in politics.

There has been in the history of the American municipality a vast amount of raw political corruption due to office-seeking, tolerated often by the people, whose crude conception of equality has approved of rotation in office; but more and more the controlling force in the city has become the big business

interest wishing special privileges. The private corporation never sleeps: the public generally does. Even when the officials are honest—a not invariable situation—the legal talent of the private business is necessarily alert in its defense. The sluggish people are aroused once or twice a year to halting action through public officials, much less competent that the officers of the private company. In consequence, these public officials have become susceptible to the influence of the stronger economic interests of the overman, the people have been indifferent, and the custom has grown of employing improper methods to secure special privileges. When a large lighting company presented a franchise to the city council of a northwestern city recently, the interests of the public were found to be so safeguarded through the foresight of the officers, who saw the increasing tendency to impose restrictions upon private business, that the city councilmen refused to grant the franchise, on the ground that it was incredible that a private company could offer such liberal

terms. The proposition seemed so fair to the city that the public officials could not help believing that there must be "a nigger in the woodpile."

A few of the less familiar instances of municipal corruption will indicate the forces which have tended to arouse the American citizen to the necessity of municipal reorganization. There was presented to a city on the Great Lakes, in 1899, a proposition to extend the franchise of the street railway company for ten years, from 1924. The plea was made that in order to improve the service it was necessary to issue bonds, for which the credit of the company might be enhanced by these larger privileges. It seemed to the people of the city an unwarranted demand, as any competent body of men should be able to make large profits on a street railway system in a city of a quarter of a million inhabitants in twenty-five years. The campaign, therefore, revolved about this proposition. The Republican party was suspected, because the president of the street railway company was its boss. The opposition,

therefore, effected a fusion between the Democratic and Populist parties and nominated a mayor who was to be the representative of the people against the street railway company. A body of exceptionally honest aldermen was to be chosen to support the mayor. The people were victorious and, presumably, the street railway company defeated.

It was soon discovered, however, that the people's mayor and the honest aldermen were about to grant the franchise desired to the street railway company. This was so traitorous that a wide-spread public agitation occupied the city for a fortnight. There was apparently unanimous disapproval of the proposed action of the council. In spite of that, the franchise was passed by the council and signed by the mayor. It is difficult to believe that such high-handed methods could be employed in any city at the dawn of the twentieth century, and the presumption might be that only by the most corrupt methods could such action be brought to pass. It is not, however, necessary to imply that the public of-

ficials were directly bought, as a single illustration will show. One of the "honest" aldermen had a brother in the coal business. Immediately after the election the brother received a contract to furnish the street railway company with coal, and the "honest" alderman voted for the ordinance. In enlightened communities this would be regarded as corrupt; but where political life is primitive the people are still dominated by personal motives upon which the sophisticated overman and the politicians play, while themselves ignoring personal or party obligations.

In extenuation of the corrupt alliance of business man and politician, it should be stated that these stupid people three times re-elected the corrupt mayor. It is almost incredible that a street railway president and a hotel proprietor could hold in the hollow of their hands a city of a quarter of a million people, presumably in possession of universal suffrage. Even the minor business interests in a city like that are subservient, the intelligent, high-minded people usually constitute an in-

significant minority, while the masses are unorganized or disorganized through the same short-sighted self-interest. That the people will not always remain a mob, while the overman flirts with impartial disloyalty with both political parties, is illustrated by the election of a Socialist mayor in Milwaukee.

The city of Chicago had been served for some time, more or less efficiently, by a private gas company, which had secured control of the entire supply of the city. There was a charge of a dollar a thousand cubic feet for illuminating gas and seventy-five cents for fuel gas, the quality, of course, being the same in both cases. The city undertook to regulate the price of gas by establishing a maximum charge of seventy-five cents for any service. This was promptly taken into the courts, in accordance with the American method of discovering whether the law is "constitutional," and there it remained for years. Meanwhile a docile people continued to pay a dollar for illuminating gas.

Then the city council resorted to that device

of antiquity, "enforced competition." They passed an ordinance granting a franchise to a competing gas company on condition that it should not sell out to the larger company known as the "trust." The small company began to furnish gas in a limited area of the city and was promptly met by a reduction of rates, so that shortly the people of that favored area were enjoying gas from either company at forty cents a thousand cubic feet. This pressure the smaller company could not stand, but it was forbidden to sell out, so that the people rejoiced in the situation—for a few weeks! Then the gas "trust" entered into an agreement with the competing company, offering to buy this company out at the expiration of its franchise, and operating meanwhile upon a "gentlemen's agreement." The price of gas was immediately restored; and by way of rebuking the people for attempting to interfere with the prerogatives of a private company the price of fuel gas was also raised to a dollar.

Then began a series of investigations with regard to legitimate prices, and the question

as to whether the city could regulate was pressed in the courts by the public authorities. A distinguished engineer, the head of one of the great schools of technology, testified in the investigation as to the legitimate price for gas, that the company could not afford to sell gas for less than ninety-five cents. Shortly thereafter the company itself presented an ordinance to the city council asking to have the price of gas regulated at eighty-five cents—presumably a dead loss to the company of ten cents per thousand cubic feet, on the basis of expert advice. The council was so impressed with the generosity of this offer that it promptly passed the ordinance, which, however, was vetoed by a mayor devoted to the public interests. The council then, in great haste, passed the ordinance by a two-thirds vote over the mayor's veto. The very next day the Supreme Court rendered a decision, giving the city the right to regulate the price of gas. The officials of the gas company must have anticipated this decision, but the representatives of the people and the people them-

selves were asleep. There are so many instances of this kind in the history of American municipal government, that in a great many of the cities the people have utterly lost courage; but it is these flagrant violations of public morality which have aroused the people to the present movement for municipal reform and reconstruction.

It is less than fifteen years since the first effort was made to bring together some of those interested in improved municipal conditions for the organization of a national society, devoted to the encouragement of municipal reform. From the date of the organization of the National Municipal League, in 1894, there has been an extension of municipal reform in accelerating ratio. The differing character of the people in various parts of the country, the varying size of cities, and the peculiarities of local charters, have caused a great range of expressions of this spirit. The first step towards better municipal government has generally been an effort to emancipate municipal politics from the control of the national po-

litical parties. In order to maintain party organizations, the interests of the localities are sacrificed. In spite of the illogical character of this domination and its injurious effects upon the municipalities, it has been difficult to shake off the control of the national parties, because it is argued that each election tends to maintain the organization which contributes most to national prosperity. Independent parties are multiplying, and there are many non-partisan organizations which help to guide the voter in selecting from the nominations of the great parties, but absurd as the system is, it persists.

Another step toward municipal reform has been taken by introducing civil service regulations for the choice of public officials and employes. The "spoils system" of appointing public servants on the basis of political service has been so intrenched that civil service reform seemed the only avenue to municipal efficiency. The clumsy device of examinations is a poor means of testing a candidate's capacity, and it prevents that elasticity which is indispensable if

the public corporation is to compete with the private corporation; but it is a necessary makeshift which tends to raise the standard of efficiency.

Among the most influential of the forces tending to modify and improve American municipal government has been a succession of excellent mayors and other public officials in different cities, who by their energy and vision have not only improved conditions in their own communities but have stimulated the emulation of others. In spite of the immense powers of many of the American mayors, they have often been politicians rather than statesmen, amenable to private instead of public interests; hence the aggressive mayors, from Pingree of Detroit and Jones of Toledo to Seidel of Milwaukee and Gaynor of New York, who have led in vigorous accomplishment, have made a great impression on the country.

It is coming to be recognized that genuine municipal reform is primarily a product of the extension of municipal functions. When there are more services to be performed by the

municipality, when the public debt and the annual budget are continually on the increase, the interest of the voter is excited. It is becoming evident that the changes proposed in the methods of municipal administration not only are due to the increasing volume of public business but must be of such a nature as to facilitate public administration.

Abstract political theories must yield to the common sense of democratic administration.

When the people begin to see that their chief antagonists are the public service corporations, it is next necessary to convince them that government must be simpler and more direct, and still leave to the officials that latitude which is necessary to enable them to compete with the officers of the private corporations. Why may they not hope even to employ the overman?

The traditional American form of government is unsuited to the progressive education of the people and to the expeditious performance of public business. The domination of

the party, the remoteness of the legislative machinery, and the complicated election methods have tended to keep the voter ignorant. At the same time, the elaborate ballot, with the simple device of party columns, having a place at the top, sometimes aided by a symbol, where the elector can vote for all the party candidates at one stroke, make even literacy unnecessary. Recently in Chicago there was presented for a record of the voter's suffrage a ticket containing six columns of sixty-seven names each, so bewildering that the most intelligent voter could not be expected to discriminate, but by the arrangement in columns a premium was put upon a lack of intelligence. While this method of perplexing the voter continues, there is also the device of indirection, known as the "system of checks." The veto of the mayor, the occasional double council, and the final reference of legislative action to the Supreme Courts, are all designed to carry out the division between executive, legislative and judicial functions, which is sup-

posed to be the bulwark of American democracy. It is, in fact, a primary source of American corruption and inefficiency.

The general tendency in charter reform at the end of the nineteenth century was towards home rule and simplicity; but with even an exaggerated emphasis on the separation of the legislative and executive. This results in giving the mayor huge powers, such as he has in the city of New York, defended by many people on the ground that one-man power is the source of all success in the great private corporations. It is worthy of record that this "simplicity" was secured in New York by a charter fifty times as large as the United States Constitution with all its amendments. The breaking down of that device of the novice has facilitated recognition of the admirable results achieved through the frank abandonment of misleading American tradition, such as one finds in Galvestion and other Texas municipalities, more recently in Des Moines, and now in scores of cities from Tacoma, Washington, to Gloucester, Massachusetts.

The flood which destroyed Galveston left the people of that city in industrial and political chaos. To build a new city on the ruins of the old, among a distracted and discouraged people, it was proposed to have what is called a "commission," of five men, to whom should be entrusted all the municipal functions, except education. It is unfortunate that the term "commission" has been applied to this form of government, as commissions in America suggest those supernumerary organizations intervening to do the work left undone, or badly done, by council and mayor. This plan is, in fact, a reversion to council government, such as one sees universally in Great Britain. Under the pressure of an emergency, these cities have compromised on a very small council, whose performances can easily be observed. Experience will doubtless lead to the enlargement of this council in larger cities (the details have already been modified a number of times elsewhere) but the initial step is epoch-making.

It has not only been followed by other Texas

cities; legislation in the state of Iowa has improved upon it. The Iowa Legislature passed an act enabling any city to adopt a charter giving itself council government. The capital city, Des Moines, availed itself of this opportunity and inaugurated a body of five councilmen, one of whom is the mayor with the functions of presiding officer. Each member of the council (elected at large, not by wards), is the head of one of the five city departments. These councilmen, thus, not only represent the whole city instead of any district in the city, but they are under control by the people through the necessity of submitting every public utility franchise to the voters for approval, and to further regulation by the initiative and referendum. Direct legislation is made possible upon petition of twenty-five per cent of the voters. Unfortunately the charter is encumbered with a recall, whereby dissatisfied constituents may demand that their representative stand for re-election at any time. This ostensibly democratic device, justifiable under the old complicated charters, seems to be

in danger of discouraging representatives accustomed to the previous freedom of such officials, who will feel sufficiently constrained for some time under the restrictions of the referendum and initiative.

The councilmen are paid salaries higher than has been the custom in American cities (which have usually paid some merely nominal sum) but not large enough to secure the uninterrupted service of the best men. Despite minor defects, the Des Moines charter represents a notable advance in American municipal government in the abandonment of the old division between legislative and executive functions, and the creation of an all-powerful council, under the control of the citizens. There has resulted, as in Texas cities, greater efficiency and economy, with the steady education of the voter.

It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of this new form of municipal government, which is not yet fully appreciated even by its friends. The failure to comprehend its revolutionary and regenerative character is indi-

cated in a review of its extension which appeared in a Texas newspaper. The addition of the initiative and referendum, which has been made in all the cities outside of Texas, was treated as immaterial, while Boston was credited with a modified "commission" charter. In fact, direct legislation is indispensable, not only to keep the board of five men from oligarchic tendencies, but also to educate the voter, while Boston's charter represents the old system intentionally in the continuance of a mayor with veto powers.

There are many differences in these various charters which are negligible, but the fundamental accomplishment of the new system is the union of legislative and executive functions. It is not desirable to restrict the councilmen more than is done in Galveston, where all their time is not required by law, and consequently a superior type of man (the overman, in fact) can afford to serve. Houston, Des Moines and subsequent cities have unfortunately exacted all the time of their councilmen at salaries which cannot attract the best

talent. It is also desirable to keep the council small, to elect the members at large, and not by wards; it is imperative that the people be given a voice in legislation and the control of finances; but the triumph of the system is its abandonment of the vicious American tradition of the separation of legislative and executive functions.

It is possible under this kind of charter or constitution to secure the services of the most efficient, to place responsibility where it can be known of all men, and to educate the masses to intelligent participation in government. With the untrained and complacent American electorate, and the domineering and privileged overman, political conversion cannot be instantaneous, but American democracy has witnessed no such contribution, since the adoption of the Constitution, as the revival of council government and its spread through American cities. Its translation, in time, into the terms of state and national government will coincide with the sovereignty of Demos.

Our constitutional principles p. 193.

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